Master Thesis

The Influence of Dutch Missionaries and their Work on Nationalism in Western New Guinea

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1. Introduction

After the end of World War II in 1945 and the following independence of Indonesia from the Netherlands, the only part of the former Dutch East Indies remaining under Dutch control was Western New Guinea.[1] One of the most important arguments of the Dutch for not handing it over to Indonesia were the perceived cultural differences between the indigenous populations of these two parts of the Dutch East Indies, with Indonesians often being categorised as southeast Asians and Papuans[2] as Melanesians.[3] Seeing the end of colonial times approaching, the Dutch administration made the decision to prepare the region to become its own nation-state in time, with close ties to the Netherlands. Efforts to educate and prepare the Papuans for independence were started. However, the role of the Papuans was not entirely passive, as nationalist thoughts had already been developing for many years in the area and there had always been some resistance against foreign control, for example refusing to pay taxes or engaging in forced labour. Whereas some saw the Dutch as the best option to eventually achieve independence, others thought of Indonesia as a better ally.[4] In the end, Western New Guinea became a part of Indonesia, but for many of the people, the struggle for independence continues to this day.

While the Dutch colonial administration had not been very active in the development of Western New Guinea and its people until after World War II, the Christian missions had played an important part in both the conversion and the education of Papuans. In the early 1950s almost a fifth of the Papuan population had been (officially) converted and the missions were the ones primarily

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[1] There are several names that can be used for this area, such as Dutch New Guinea, West Irian, Irian Jaya. Such changes in name have often coincided with a change in regime. While West Papua is the name preferred by nationalists, nowadays this refers only to a part of the former Dutch colony as it has been split into two provinces. In this text I will be using the term "Western New Guinea", to avoid confusion.
See: David Webster, "'Already Sovereign as a People': A Foundational Moment in West Papuan Nationalism," *Pacific Affairs* 74, no. 4 (Winter 2001-2002): 507; "New Guinea," Britannica Academic, accessed January 23, 2021, https://academic-eb-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl/levels/collegiate/article/New-Guinea/55470.

[2] Papua/Papuans derives from the Portuguese *papuas*, itself probably a local word for 'curly' hair. While the term Papuan is used here as a general description of the indigenous population of Western New Guinea, Papuan society is "a mosaic of over three hundred small, local, and often isolated ethno-linguistic groups." The process of forming a pan-Papuan identity was just starting in the time frame examined in this text. See: Nonie Sharp and Marcus Wonggor Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star in Papua Barat* (North Carlton: Arena Publ., 1994), xix; Richard Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism: History, Ethnicity, and Adaptation* (Washington D.C.: East-West Center Washington, 2005), 4.

[3] Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, "Beyond the 'Trauma of Decolonisation': Dutch Cultural Diplomacy during the West New Guinea Question (1950-62)," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 44, no. 2 (2016): 313-314; C.L.M. Penders, *The West New Guinea debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945-1962* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2002), 146-147.

[4] Robert Osborne, "OPM and the Quest for West Papua Unity," in *Between two nations: the Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and West Papua nationalism*, ed. Ronald James May (Barthurst: RBA, 1986), 49 ff; Theo van den Broek and Alexandra Szalay, "Raising the Morning Star: Six months in the developing independence movement in West Papua," *Journal of Pacific History* 36, no. 1 (2001): 77.

responsible for their education.[5] Overall, missionaries held an important role in Western New Guinea and exerted a considerable influence on local culture and people, perhaps in some ways even more than the colonial government. Despite this, and even though a lot of research can be found on New Guinea as well as on Christianity in Southeast Asia, there do not appear to be very many studies on the subject of missionaries and their particular influence, especially on nationalist aspirations.[6]

In this thesis I answer the question of to what extent Dutch missionaries and the conversion to Christianity had an influence on ideas of nationalism and movements towards independence in the indigenous population of Western New Guinea. Papuan nationalism and hopes for independence of Western New Guinea are still a source of conflict in the region today.[7] Although I am not trying to assert that missionaries and their work were the driving force or played the most important part in the emergence of nationalism in Western New Guinea, I do believe that their importance so far has been underestimated. The story of the arrival of the first missionaries in the 19th century and how they baptised the whole of Papua is still used as a way of claiming the island for the (Christian) Papuans as opposed to the (Muslim) Indonesians.[8] Missionaries also lived in much closer contact with Papuans and were more emerged in their language and culture and had a deeper connection with them than most other non-Papuans in Western New Guinea.[9] Furthermore, religion can provide an important emotional basis for nationalism.[10] Considering this and the great importance of the Christian faith and of the education programmes in Western New Guinea, I assert that more attention should be directed towards the role of missionaries and their work, which is what I endeavour to do in this thesis.

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[5] Robin Osborne, *Indonesia's secret war: the guerilla struggle in Irian Jaya* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 10; Penders, *The West New Guinea debacle*, 105.

[6] Robert W. Robin, "Missionaries in contemporary Melanesia: Crossroads of cultural change," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 69, no. 36 (1980): 261. For a general history on New Guinea see: Clive Moore, *New Guinea: Crossing Boundaries and History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003). Concerning Christianity in Southeast Asia see e.g.: Jan S. Aritonang and Karel A. Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia* (Leiden: Brill, 2008); Robbie B.H. Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2005).

[7] Ari Setiarsih and Suharno, "Scrutinizing Papua from Nationalism, Identity Politics, and Indonesian National Integration Perspectives," *Politik Indonesia: Indonesian Political Science Review* 3, no. 2 (July 2018): 151-152.

[8] Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 350.

[9] Judith Becker, "European Missions in Contact Zones. Transformation Through Interaction in a (Post-)Colonial World," in *European Missions in Contact Zones. Transformation Through Interaction in a (Post-)Colonial World*, ed. Judith Becker (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 7.

[10] Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 180.

Because missionaries had many different tasks, I look not only at how confrontation with a possible conversion to Christianity had an influence, but also the missionaries involvement in education and politics. The thesis focuses mainly on the time period from the 1940s until the early 1960s, thus covering what is considered to mark the start of the development of Papuan nationalism and the expansion of educational and political progress, to the change from Dutch to Indonesian rule.[11] The focus here will be mainly on the Protestant missions, who were the first to establish mission posts, were more active in the northern part of Western New Guinea where many of the important events and influential people for Papuan nationalism took place/were from, and were overall larger than the Catholic missions in the area.[12]

While the impact of former colonisers on such movements is always interesting to explore, in the case of Western New Guinea, the role of the missionaries is of special importance, as they played a significant and influential role in many areas of Papuan life. Even though both nationalism and missionaries in the area have been studied, the connection between the two so far does not appear to be regarded as particularly significant by most scholars.

Historiography

There are many works on nationalism in Western New Guinea, though not many are recent. Manu Goswami has pointed out that works on nationalism are less common nowadays, as research on nationalism and the nation is in decline due to the growing focus on global and international history.[13] Generally, studies of nationalism in Western New Guinea can be roughly divided into two categories.

The first category are studies that only discuss the beginnings of Papuan nationalism briefly and in a specific context. This includes Ronald James May's anthology, published in 1986, which, while the title states that it deals with both the Indonesia-Papua New Guinea border and Western New Guinean nationalism, does not give much attention to the latter. Although a very extensive account on various aspects of the relationship between the two countries and their shared border is given, as

[11] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 1.

[12] Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 350, 357 ff.

[13] Manu Goswami, "Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (1983)," review of *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, by Benedict Anderson, *Public Culture* 32, no. 2 (2020):446-447.

Nonie Sharp has pointed out, the subject of Papuan nationalism is rarely mentioned.[14] Other studies, such as Robin Osborne's study of the Free Papua Movement, only discuss it in the context of its importance relating to events during the late 1990s and early 2000s.[15]

The second category of works focuses on the influence of the Dutch colonial administration and/or Indonesia on Papuan nationalism. The common theory seems to be that West Papuan nationalism was first a product of colonial rule, then of the struggle between the Netherlands and Indonesia, and finally of the struggle against Indonesian rule.[16] It could be argued that missionaries are a part of colonial rule and thus are in a way already part of the debate, but only a small one so far.[17]

C.L.M. Penders in his book gives an overview of the emergence of nationalism and the West New Guinea question, concentrating on Dutch policies and perspectives, and how they affected Papuan nationalism, with the goal of providing the reader with a better understanding of the origin of the situation in the early 2000s.[18] Although not primarily about the region, Benedict Anderson's influential book shows the importance of the Dutch colonial map to the Indonesian view of Western New Guinea as part of their country. However, Papuans did not interpret the map the same way.[19] Various literature covers the history of the Dutch colonisation and decolonisation of Western New Guinea, as well as its takeover by Indonesia, much of it written during the events of the late 1990s. Studies such as those by Jan Pouwer and Vincent Kuitenbrouwer deal with the impact of colonisation and decolonisation on Papuan nationalism, although they do not ascribe much importance to the role of the missions during these times.[20] Emma Kluge has also looked at the

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[14] Ronald James May, ed., *Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea Border and West Papua Nationalism* (Bathurst: RBA, 1986); Nonie Sharp, "Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea Border and West Papua Nationalism" review of *Between Two Nations: The Indonesia-Papua New Guinea Border and West Papua Nationalism*, by Ronald James May (ed.), *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 97, no. 3 (1988): 352.

[15] Osborne, *Indonesia's Secret War*; Van den Broek and Szalay, "Raising the Morning Star"; Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People."

[16] See: Richard Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings of the 1960s: international conflict and local nationalisms," in *Een Daad Van Vrije Keuze : De Papoea's Van Westelijk Nieuw-Guinea En De Grenzen Van Het Zelfbeschikkingsrecht*, ed. P.J. Drooglever (Den Haag: Instituut Voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 2005), 40; Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 2.6; Paul W. van der Veur, "Political Awakening in West New Guinea," *Pacific Affairs* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1963): 57; Penders, *The West New Guinea debacle*, 146-147; Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 509.

[17] Danilyn Rutherford, "Sympathy, State Building, and the Experience of Empire," *Cultural Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (February 2009): 20; Heather Sharkey, *Cultural Conversions: Unexpected Consequences of Christian Missionary Encounters in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013), 12.

[18] Penders, *The West New Guinea debacle*; Brad Simpson, "Power, Politics, and Primitivism: West Papua's Struggle for Self-Determination," review of (et.al.) *The West New Guinea debacle: Dutch Decolonisation and Indonesia, 1945-1962*, by C.L.M. Penders, *Critical Asian Studies* 35, no. 3 (2003): 469-470.

[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London/New York: Verso, 1991), 175-176.

[20] Jan Pouwer, "The Colonisation, Decolonisation and Recolonisation of West New Guinea," *The Journal of Pacific History* 34, no. 2 (September 1999): 157-179; Kuitenbrouwer, "Beyond the 'Trauma of Decolonisation'."

history of decolonisation in Western New Guinea, with a greater focus on the racial component used especially by Papuans in their argument for self-determination.[21]

Both Peter Savage and Nonie Sharp see the time period of Dutch rule in Western New Guinea between the end of the Second World War and the Indonesian takeover in the early 1960s, as the first phase of a developing Papuan nationalist consciousness.[22] Richard Chauvel identifies the primary factors that have influenced Papuan nationalism as relating primarily to Indonesia, e.g. its integration of Western New Guinea and the prior presence of Indonesian officials in the area. However, World War II and the following reforms by the Dutch government are also named as of importance to nationalists prior to the Indonesian takeover.[23] Furthermore, concerning the time between 1945 and 1961, only the Dutch colonial administration seems to be considered of importance to the development of Papuan nationalism.[24] Even though Chauvel covers a lot of the same topics that this thesis focuses on (education, elite formation, etc.), he does not put much emphasis on the importance of the missionaries and Christianity in all this, the part that this thesis explores.

Studies on missionaries and Christianity in Western New Guinea have focused more on particular parts, such as Courtney Handman's study of the colonial Lutheran Mission and its attempts to deal with the linguistic diversity of the area.[25] In her study on "local intermediaries" Maaike Derksen looks at the role of *gurus*, teachers from other parts of the Dutch East Indies, and their importance to the Catholic mission and colonial government in the south.[26] Marthinus Mawene has analysed the intersection of Christian theological ideas and Papuan indigenous beliefs, pointing out perceived similarities and questioning theological development in the church in Western New Guinea.[27] Additionally of importance is research on the role of missionaries in the collection of indigenous artefacts and sculptures. In that respect, studies such as Raymond Corbey

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[21] Emma Kluge, "West Papua and the International History of Decolonization, 1961-69," *The International History Review* 42, no. 6 (2020): 1163, 1166 ff.

[22] Peter Savage, "The Nationalist Struggle in West Irian: The Divisions Within the Liberation Movement," *Journal of Sociology* 14, no. 2 (1978): 142; Nonie Sharp, *The Rule of the Sword. The Story of West Irian* (Victoria: Kibble Books, 1977), 11.

[23] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 37.

[24] Webster, "'Already Sovereign as a People'," 509-510, 527-528; Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 37.

[25] Courtney Handman, "Becoming the Body of Christ: Sacrificing the Speaking Subject in the Making of the Colonial Lutheran Church in New Guinea," *Current Anthropology* 55, no. S10 (December 2014): S205-S215.

[26] Maaike Derksen, "Local Intermediaries? The Missionising and Governing of Colonial Subjects in South Dutch New Guinea, 1920-42," *The Journal of Pacific History* 51, no. 2 (April 2016): 111-142.

[27] Marthinus Th. Mawene, "Christ and Theology of Liberation in Papua," *Exchange* 33, no. 2 (2004): 153-179.

and Karel Weener's article "Collecting while converting" analyse the perception of missionaries as destroyers of indigenous culture and religion and how they were not always the only factor in the destruction of cultural or religious objects.[28]

In his 1980 article, Robert W. Robin points out that in 1980 studies of the missionary presence in places such as New Guinea are still rare, despite their significance in the area. In fact, in 1983, S. Kooijman showed that, while there was still much anthropological, demographical and linguistic research being done on New Guinea overall, specifically Dutch research interests had shifted away from the island after the west was handed over to Indonesia.[29] Robin, for his part, examines the role of missionaries in Melanesia, seeing them as a major external influence on the indigenous population. He identifies the main focus of many missionary efforts as trying to discourage indigenous customs and to replace them with Christian ones. Although he mainly focuses on Papua New Guinea, his overall point appears to be that while missionaries in Melanesia were temporarily successful in suppressing local customs and beliefs, this did not lead the indigenous populations to fully embrace Christianity in the long run.[30]

In the article "From Mission to Movement" Harvey Whitehouse argues that through the missionisation of indigenous people in Papua New Guinea, Christian procedures of worship and routinised rituals became a basis for their politicisation and led to the formation of nationalist movements.[31] Charles Farhadian in his study focuses on the Dani people of Western New Guinea, their understanding of Christianity, their own religious and national identities and how these have been influenced by encounters with Islam, the Indonesian state, as well as Christian missions.[32]

Whitehouse's focus on procedures of worship and routinised rituals is interesting, but not one that can be followed here, because sources for Western New Guinea do not provide enough information on these specific subjects. Farhadian's focus is much broader than my own, but also at the same time only focuses on one specific people group. Robin, on the other hand, similarly to

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[28] Raymond Corbey and Karel Weener, "Collecting while converting: Missionaries and Ethnographics," *Journal of art historiography* 12, no. 1 (June 2015): 13-14, 17-18. For more on missionaries and collecting see et.al.: Raymond Corbey, *Korwar: Northwest New Guinea ritual art according to missionary sources* (Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2019); Raymond Corbey, *Raja Ampat Ritual Art. Spirit priests and ancestor cults in New Guinea's far West* (Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2017).

[29] S. Kooijman, "The Netherlands and Oceania: a summary of research," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 139, no. 2/3 (1983):199-200, 205.

[30] Robin, "Missionaries in contemporary Melanesia," 261-262.

[31] Harvey Whitehouse, "From Mission to Movement: The Impact of Christianity on Patters of Political Association in Papua New Guinea," *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 4, no. 1 (March 1998): 60.

[32]Charles E. Farhadian, *Christianity, Islam, and Nationalism in Indonesia* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 179.

Whitehouse, focuses mainly on the subjugation of indigenous beliefs and practices by missionaries in Melanesia.

"Religion and nationalism are both powerful and important markers of individual identity," Peter Mentzel has written. These two kinds of self-identification can often exist together in the same space or even be mutually supportive.[33] According to Joseph Liow, religion "can provide an effective vocabulary to legitimize and frame political mobilization when combined with nationalism"[34] and "religious identity nourishes collective consciousness of a people."[35] I argue in this thesis that such statements on the importance of religion for nationalism and national consciousness apply, to a certain extent, to Western New Guinea.

The works by Whitehouse, Farhadian and Robin come closest to my own area of interest. While they all follow different approaches, they do share the same general assumption: that missionaries and Christianity have had a profound influence on Papuan (or more generally Melanesian) society. Furthermore, Whitehouse and Farhadian conclude that this influence can also be found in Papuan nationalism or the understanding of national identity. These are the central ideas that I follow in this thesis, looking at the extent to which Dutch missionaries and their work have had an influence on ideas of nationalism and movements towards independence in the indigenous population in Western New Guinea.

Sources

I examine the sources and literature with regard to multiple factors. First, the impact of the conversion of the local population to Christianity. Did their new beliefs also have an effect on their ideas of unity and nation? How did the convergence of new and old beliefs, as well as the missionaries' response to it, possibly affect nationalist movements? Next, the importance of the establishment of schools and the education of the population. Even those who were not converted could still come into contact with Christian and Western ideas and knowledge in the mission schools. The centralisation of locals into new villages around the mission station and school, as well as the teaching of one language as *lingua franca* is also an integral part of this, bringing the people

[33] Peter C. Mentzel, "Introduction: Religion and Nationalism? Or Nationalism and Religion? Some Reflections on the Relationship between Religion and Nationalism," *Genealogy* 4, no. 98 (2020): 1.

[34] Liow, *Religion and Nationalism*, 9.

[35] Ibid., 10.

closer together. What effect could this new knowledge and way of living have had on the development of nationalist thought for the Papuans? Furthermore, how did the missionaries actively contribute to the development of Papuan nationalism, but also how did their work and actions inadvertently do the same? It is also important to note here, that nationalism in this case does not necessarily mean Papuan but also Indonesian, considering that the missionaries could also have (accidentally) made the Papuans more susceptible to Indonesian ideals and nationalism.

With these questions in mind, I examine different sources, which can be divided into three categories: Papuans, missionaries and more official documents. The search for Papuan sources can prove quite complicated, as letters, biographies and other texts are much harder to find and exist in less quantities in the first place. However, some can be found, in particular by prominent advocates for Papuan independence, such as Markus Wonggor Kaisiepo,[36] Zacharias Sawor,[37] Johan Ariks[38] and Nicolaas Jouwe,[39] including radio speeches given and texts written during the 1950s and interviews later in their lives. Furthermore, pro-Indonesian work, authored by, among others, Papuan activist (and Christian) Silas Papare, is also examined.[40] Other indigenous sources used here include books by Papuans involved in the Christian church, such as Laurens Tanamal and F.J.S. Rumainum,[41] as well as an anthology of oral histories of Papuan administrators beginning in 1950, including Arnold Mampioper, whose other work on mythology is also examined here.[42] Although these sources can give a diverse look at different opinions, they still only represent a small part of the Papuan population. A representation of all Papuan opinions in this case is not possible, as many

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[36] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star in Papua Barat.*

[37] Zacharias Sawor, *Ik bèn een Papoea: een getuigeverslag van de toestanden in Westelijk Nieuw-Guinea sinds de gezagsoverdracht op 1 oktober 1962* (Groningen: Uitgeverij de Vuurbaak, 1969).

[38] *Onze Toekomst,* "Johan Ariks te Batavia," ca. 1961.

[39] Nicolaas Jouwe, *De stem van de Papoea's* (Amsterdam: De Boer, 1952); Nicolaas Jouwe, *Kembali ke Indonesia. langkah, pemikiran dan keinginan* (Jakarta: PT Pustaka Sinar Harapan Verbum Publishing, 2013); Hendrik Kroeskamp, *Kenjataan pendirian dari Nieuw-Guinea = Nieuw-Guinea spreekt zich uit* (Biak:Afd. Bevolkingsvoorlichting; Hollandia: Landsdrukkerij, 1956).

[40] Silas Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea, zijnde het verslag van het standpunt van het Indonesische deel van de verenigde commissie voor West-Nieuw Guinea benoemd door de Regering van de Verenigde Staten van Indonesie 1950, deelgenoot van de Indonesisch-Nederlandse Unie : afgedaan en getekend te Scheveningen op dinsdag 1 Aug. 1950* ('s-Gravenhage: Secretariaat Van De Nederlands-Indonesische Unie, 1950).

[41] Laurens Tanamal, *De roepstem volgend: autobiografie* (The Hague: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1952); F.J.S. Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I. sesudah seratus satu tahun zending di Irian Barat* (Ketua Synode Umum GKI, n.d.).

[42] Arnold Mampioper, *Mitologi dan pengharapan masyarakat Biak-Numfor* (S.l.: S.n., 1976); Leontine Visser, ed., *Governing New Guinea. An oral history of Papuan administrators, 1950-1990* (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012).

areas of Western New Guinea were only put under administrative control in the 1950s and many of its people were still uneducated and not in any meaningful way involved in the political process.[43]

Many Protestant Dutch missionaries have written biographies, reports or studies about their time in Western New Guinea, for example I.S. Kijne, H.J. Agter, as well as numerous works by F.C. Kamma, concerning *Koreri* movements and the history of the mission in Western New Guinea and personal experiences.[44] While these do not reflect the mind of the author in a specific moment and are more reflective of their time as missionaries, they are very helpful in understanding the work of the missions and how the missionaries saw their work and its impact on the local population. However, when working with missionary accounts, it is important to keep in mind that their main objective was proselytisation and that it was in their interest to portray themselves and the mission in a positive light.[45]

Other documents include newspapers such as the *Nieuw Guinea Koerier*, which is used for more official information such as party programmes.[46] Additionally, a questionnaire survey among 927 students in 1962, surveying their views on international affairs and the future of their homeland, is used to give an idea of how the educated Papuan youth thought about their future and Dutch or Indonesian involvement in it.[47]

Structure

The first two chapters of this thesis look directly at the work of the Dutch missionaries and their influence. Chapter 1 examines the conversion of the indigenous population, looking at how successful the missionaries really were in fully converting them and how it impacted messianic movements, with increasingly nationalist undertones, in the area. Chapter 2 deals with the other

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[43] Moore, *New* Guinea, 183; Penders, *The West New Guinea debacle,* 104-105.

[44] Freerk C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic movements in the Biak-Numfor culture area* (s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1972); Freerk C. Kamma, *"Dit wonderlijke werk": het probleem van de communicatie tussen Oost en West gebaseerd up de ervaringen in het zendingswerk op Nieuw-Guinea (Irian Jaya), 1855-1972: een socio-missiologische banadering* (Oegstgeest: Raad voor de Zending der Ned. Hervormde Kerk, 1977); Freerk C. Kamma, ed., *Kruis en Korwar: een honderdjarig vraagstuk op Nieuw Guinea* (The Hague: Voorhoeve, 1953).

[45] Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia*, 14; Corbey & Weener, "Collecting while converting," 13-14; Robin, "Missionaries in contemporary Melanesia," 261.

[46] Justus M. van der Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics in West New Guinea," *Pacific Affairs* 34, no. 1 (Spring 1961): 42, 53.

[47] Paul van der Veur, "Questionnaire survey among the potential Papuan elite in 1962 West New Guinea," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 120, no. 4 (1964): 424-460.

main task of the missionaries, education, and how this shaped the Papuans and their relationships, not just with the Dutch but also with Indonesians. Furthermore, the chapter looks at actions actively taken by missionaries towards Papuan self-determination, such as the formation of an educated Papuan elite and of an independent church. The third chapter examines how the actions of missionaries, but also the Christian faith in general, more inadvertently influenced the formation of Papuan nationalism, as well as Papuan opinion on the Netherlands-Indonesia conflict and Papuan independence.

By examining these aspects I hope to give a fuller picture of how Papuan nationalism developed in Western New Guinea, and to show the importance and influence of missionaries and Christianity for this development.

2. Conversion and its Consequences

The primary task of the Dutch missionaries in Western New Guinea was to convert the indigenous population to Christianity. This, however, sometimes led to unexpected developments. Not only did many Papuans often times not fully let go of their old beliefs, but the work of the missionaries and the conversion of the indigenous population also influenced some of the so-called messianic movements.[48] Such movements, in particular the Great *Koreri* Movement of 1938 to 1943, went on to have a significant impact on nationalism in Western New Guinea.

The first Dutch missionaries arrived in Western New Guinea in 1826. By the end of the century a continuous mission presence had been established with the building of multiple mission stations and churches. In the beginning, the Christian missions in Western New Guinea acted in a similar capacity as government bases, providing posts and information for other travellers. This led in part to the indigenous population seeing the missionaries as similar to traders, known for being a possible provider of European goods. The spread of Christianity was hindered by the inaccessibility of large parts of the territory, the huge diversity of languages and its association with the Dutch colonial government. Nonetheless, the missionaries were able to learn many of the local languages, and translated the bible and continued to proselytise.[49]

However, they were not very successful in converting the local population for the first decades of their presence in the area. This only changed in the early 20th century and by 1941 there were around 130,000 Protestant and 30,000 Catholic converts.[50] In addition to converting the people, the missionaries also built village schools to educate the younger generation.[51] The Protestant missionary Freerk C. Kamma[52] reported that in 1942, in the Radja Ampat area alone, there were 36

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[48] Messianic movements, according to F.C. Kamma, "arise from expectations of salvation and involve the return of a Messiah-like figure. These movements hark back to mythical prehistoric time (a reality of faith); their starting point is religious, and they contain apocalyptic elements. The revolt is against human dependence in general (sickness and death) and, in addition, against recent crisis situations in particular. A critical attitude towards the culture in which they appear is inherent to these movements. When no specific re-appearance of a Messiah is involved they might be called millennial movements." (Kamma, *Koreri*, 3). Such messianic expectations did not necessarily have to do with Christianity and Jesus Christ in particular.

[49] Moore, *New Guinea*, 123, 126; Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia*, 58.

[50] Out of a population of approximately 700,000, of which only around 450,000 were under direct administrative control. (Veur, "Political Awakening," 55.)

[51] Veur, "Political Awakening," 56.

[52] The texts by F.C. Kamma serve as the main missionary source for this chapter. Kamma (1906-1987), who was a Protestant missionary and later ethnographer, was active mainly in the Radja Ampat archipelago from 1933-1942 and 1954-1962. His many works show a great interest in the area and contain much information about its culture, traditions, religion and art. (Corbey, *Raja Ampat Ritual Art*, 3, 91) Kamma specifically wrote extensively on the *koreri* movements and Papuan religious beliefs, which is why he is an especially important source for this chapter.

missionary teacher posts, 22 schools which were well attended, and many more churches that were being built everywhere. Especially in regions which had previously been heavily involved in messianic movements there was now a growing number of conversions to Christianity.[53]

2.1 Conversion in Western New Guinea

Missionaries have often been presented and perceived as destroyers of indigenous beliefs, cultures, and objects, with little regard for local tradition, religion or history. While this viewpoint is certainly applicable to many missionaries and their actions over the years, the overall situation is much more complex. Many missionaries had a great interest in ethnography, geography and linguistics, and sometimes even tried to adapt their church liturgy to local symbolism and culture.[54] F.C. Kamma wrote about the work of the missionaries, that it was important for them to have extensive knowledge of the local culture. They wanted to not simply convert people, but to fully explain to them the core beliefs of Christianity and how these would affect their lives.[55] Missionary A.M. Middag showed a similar approach to the conversion of the indigenous population, saying that the mission should not be using coercion and should look for ways to make the gospel understandable, to preach it in the language and the way of thinking of the indigenous people. The main objective of the mission should not be to simply convert as many people as possible, but to truly help them find salvation.[56]

However, Markus Wonggor Kaisiepo[57], who was one of the most influential first leaders of the Papuan nationalist movement, while acknowledging Kamma's extensive knowledge of customs and languages, made it clear that there was always going to be one problem:

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[53] F.C. Kamma, "Het viervorstendom en de Noord-West Vogelkop," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 126.

[54] Corbey & Weener, "Collecting while converting," 13-14; I.H. Enklaar, "Leiden Orientalists and the Christian mission," in *Leiden Oriental connections 1850-1904*, ed. William Otterspeer (Leiden: Brill/Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1989), 173-174.

[55] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, 658.

[56] A.M. Middag, "Het Westers grootbedrijf en de zending," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 132.

[57] Same as with Kamma, Kaisiepo serves as the most important Papuan source for this chapter. Kaisiepo (1913-2000), was not only one of the most important first Papuan nationalists, as well a former student and then employee of the Protestant mission, but he was also extremely knowledgeable about messianic movements, specifically *koreri* movements, in Western New Guinea and deeply connected to these beliefs (Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 67 ff.).

> He ate, he slept as a Biak. He spoke the language; he also felt like a Biakker. Like other Dutch missionaries, or European people, he thought that his own Christianity was the real religion. When our old people heard somebody speak our language, they said: 'He's one of us'. He knew everything, he was one of us… But he was *still* a Dutch person.[58]

What Kaisiepo pointed out here is that Kamma could never completely understand the culture and beliefs of Papuans, a big part of their identity, because he was not Papuan and because his main task, after all, was converting them to Christianity.[59]

The missionaries did seem to understand, at least to some extent, the importance of the old culture and religion. I.S. Kijne wrote that both the government and the missions in New Guinea had to deal with the preexisting views and beliefs of the population, where old cultural and religious characteristics had over time become more common throughout different areas, though differences could also still be found. But even with the differences, there were many similarities in the old backgrounds, where the Papuans could understand each other well, which, as Kijne pointed out, was of great significance for their unity as a people.[60] Kamma on the other hand wrote about the missionary Bink, who in the 19th century already described the religion of the Papuans as of little importance and how he felt that the Papuans themselves did not take things such as ancestor figures very seriously. However, Kamma did not completely agree with Bink, pointing out that funeral rituals, for example, were taken very seriously by the Papuans. Overall, Kamma made the observation that the greatest point of contact between the Papuan and the Christian religion, helping with conversion, was the recognition of a supreme deity by both sides: "When the Christian Missionary comes with the Good News of God revealed in Jesus Christ as a loving Father — whatever else in his teaching they find hard to accept, this at least they readily take to their hearts."[61]

In another one of his works, Kamma wrote about the importance of ancestor worship when trying to convert the people. While many people were willing to give up their *korwars* (a Papuan ancestor figure) and other religious items rather quickly, and had no objection to listening to the gospel, they also did not want to let go of their ancestors. Even more importantly, when people were ready to move on from this, they only did so together as a community, because the people were not

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[58] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 9.

[59] Ibid.

[60] I.S. Kijne, "Eenheid en verscheidenheid," *Schakels N.N.G.* 50, (1962): 7.

[61] W.T. Harris and E.G. Parrinder, 1962 in Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, 319-320.

just dependent on each other socio-economically, but also in the ceremonial.[62] Missionary F. Slump likewise wrote that many old customs could still be found in villages where the people had been converted, noting that it was important to establish a firmer presence of the mission and the Christian faith to combat this.[63] Many missionaries were determined to fully convert the Papuans to Christianity, not allowing any syncretism. This proved a problem, because syncretism was an important part of the Papuans' religious conception, as it allowed for the constant integration of new things.[64] As Kamma put it, "the real problem of the Mission is the true integration of the gospel with all its ethical consequences."[65]

Syncretism

While the Dutch missionaries only arrived in Western New Guinea in the 19th century, the indigenous population had been coming into contact with Christianity since the early 16th century. This might have led to local myths and beliefs being influenced by Christian ideas. What is clear is that many Papuans perceived close similarities between their own religious myths and the gospel. For some this even made the conversion easier, as they saw some continuity between the two beliefs.[66] When looking at the myth of Manseren Manggundi, who is a mythical figure in the Biak-Numfor area, there are certainly some similarities to be found.

There are many different versions of the myth, but the basis of most of them is that Manggundi, who had mystical powers, travelled around the area teaching the people of *koreri*, the "Ideal State" or "Utopia". When they did not listen, he disappeared to the west. While it is not found in all versions of the myth, many did include the return of Manseren Manggundi. Many Papuans believed that the return of Manggundi would bring about *koreri*, the golden age of Papua where all sick would be healed, the dead would be resurrected and there would be no more death.[67]

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[62] F.C. Kamma, "Kruis en Korwar," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 16-17.

[63] F. Slump, "West Nieuw-Guinea na de oorlog," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 117.

[64] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, 603, 631.

[65] Kamma, *Koreri*, 268.

[66] Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 348-349.

[67] Kamma, *Koreri*, 17-18; 37 ff.
Manseren Manggundi can be translated to "lord (Manseren) himself (Manggundi)."

As Dana Robert writes, indigenous converts all over the world remade Christianity into their own images.[68] This was also the case for the people of Western New Guinea. The combination of local elements with foreign ones was not a new practice for them, and to some degree the conversion to Christianity was made easier because the old patterns of regular renewal and adoption of foreign things and habits were well established among the indigenous people.[69] Kamma described how Biak emigrants to a different region would change certain details in myths to fit their new environment and that something was only strange to them as long as it was not yet their property. As Kamma wrote: "They put their stamp on every trait that is absorbed." The religious conception of the Biak people not only allowed for syncretism, but it was an essential part of it.[70] It was also difficult for the Papuans to let go of the idea that their beliefs were strongly determined by their local community. A.M. Middag told of a story where one Christian Papuan said to another from a different village, that their faiths were different.[71] As the Papuan administrator Arnold Mampioper pointed out, it was difficult for the people to completely let go of what was normal to them, as they were still in the atmosphere of their old beliefs.[72] So it is not too surprising that many Papuans who converted adopted elements of their old beliefs into their new religion or that these made it easier for them to convert in the first place. Many of them believed that Jesus was in fact Manseren Manggundi, and some even argued that the missionaries purposefully left out a page of the bible where this had been proclaimed.[73]

However, there was another way in which the Papuans looked at Christianity. Some saw the modern technology of the Europeans arriving in Western New Guinea as a sign that Manggundi had truly gone westwards and that he had helped the Europeans achieve such great things. The bible was not something new, but simply the *koreri* message that the indigenous population had already known for a long time. On the one hand, this meant that Manggundi was still alive and would return one day, but on the other it also meant that he had helped the foreigners instead of his own people.[74]

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[68] Dana L. Robert, ed., *Converting Colonialism. Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706-1914* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008), 20.

[69] Corbey, *Korwar*, 44.

[70] Kamma, *Koreri*, 14, 56-57.

[71] Middag, "Het Westers grootbedrijf en de zending," 133-134.

[72] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 120-121.

[73] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, 661; Mawene, "Christ and Theology of Liberation in Papua," 164.

[74] Kamma, *Koreri*, 48-49; Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 98-99.

Markus Wonggor Kaisiepo was one of the first Papuan teachers working for the missions. Yet, after he had become a teacher, he started to introduce his students to *koreri* songs and dances. He believed in the combining of the old songs with the new Christian words, as an encouragement[75]: "Koreri songs represent the people. In reintroducing Koreri songs in 1937 I felt that I was bringing back the spirit of what was already in the minds and the culture of the people."[76] The Christian missionaries did not appreciate the mix of *koreri* activities with Christianity and forbade any such activities, trying to force the people to only do things "the Christian way." However, as Kaisiepo explained, some villages worked together to drive out the teachers that were against the teaching of *koreri* ways, instead of complying.[77]

Kaisiepo was not convinced that the *koreri* belief and Christianity were the same, but rather that Christianity was only a cover over *koreri*: "I was born Koreri; Christianity is only a mask; the contents [behind the mask] belong to us."[78] When asked by the missionaries for the reason behind his actions, since he had officially converted to Christianity, he explained to them that Jesus had originally belonged to the Papuans, that their Jesus was older than the missionaries' Jesus.[79] Furthermore, Kaisiepo pointed out that the difference between Christianity and *koreri* was that in Christianity, in the end one may end up in paradise or in hell, whereas *koreri* guaranteed everyone a paradise without suffering, disease or death.[80]

2.2 Movements

Nonie Sharp asserts that the way Papuans expressed their desire to run their own affairs and seek social change during the time of Dutch rule in Western New Guinea was commonly expressed in the form of millenarian movements, which had been a part of Papuan culture for a long time. These movements constituted an important part of the Papuan struggle for cultural independence.[81] F.C. Kamma presented a similar idea, writing that the myth of Manseren Manggundi was a clear

[75] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 31, 83-84.

[76] Ibid., 11.

[77] Ibid., 87, 90-91.

[78] Ibid., 42.

[79] Ibid., 84 ff.

[80] Ibid., 87-88.

[81] Sharp, *Rule of the Sword*, 1.

reflection of the desire for independence of man as well as a hope for victory over death. Furthermore he contended that while many movements included antagonism and protest against the government, and sometimes the missions, this was always only one part of the reason behind them and not their entire purpose.[82] On the other hand, the missionary I.S. Kijne wrote that many of the movements arose out of contact with Western power and wealth, in hopes of achieving the same level of civilisation and prosperity at a quicker pace.[83] It is important to distinguish between such movements as those mentioned by Kijne, so-called "cargo-cult" movements and the movements based on messianic expectations which are primarily looked at here.[84] The many movements that occurred during the time of Dutch colonialism, as well as during the Japanese occupation, can also be seen as a belief or hope that *koreri* would end the oppression of the Papuan people.[85] Papuan F.J.S. Rumainum argued that the transitional period, when the Dutch had mostly fled but the Japanese had not yet fully arrived, created a vacuum in the field of government and religion, which contributed to the increase in tribal and religious movements.[86]

Especially the *koreri* movements in Western New Guinea reflect these ideas of a new unity, united in old culture and customs, but in some ways also through new beliefs. These messianic movements, were most common in the Biak-Numfor area, where groups of people believed that the return of Manseren Manggundi was imminent. This was often declared through a *konoor*, a person who had had a vision of Manggundi announcing his return and that he would usher in the time of *koreri*. Such movements would entail many different things, sometimes dancing or the destruction of property in preparation for the new time that was approaching. Kamma noted that an interesting aspect of these often occurring movements was that even when Manggundi did not appear as announced, the people never gave up hope and were still willing to participate in the next movement.[87]

Markus Kaisiepo proclaimed that the ideas of being Papuan and *koreri* were closely intertwined: "Wherever there are Papuans there is hope for Koreri. […] Koreri is a movement from the old generation of the future. We have to get better in the future. That is the Koreri — the general name

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[82] F.C. Kamma, "Religieuze Voorstellingen," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 29-30; Kamma, *Koreri*, 220, 230, 242.

[83] Kijne, "Eenheid en verscheidenheid," 8-9.

[84] Mawene, "Christ and Theology of Liberation in Papua," 162.

[85] Sharp, *Rule of the Sword*, 11-12.

[86] Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I.*, 23-24.

[87] Kamma, *Koreri*, 102-103.

for changing something. Movement. That is Koreri."[88] To Kaisiepo, *koreri* was a cultural identity, which had started long before foreign influence in Western New Guinea, and represented a "growing self-awareness which found practical expression in active struggle against enforced acculturation."[89]

As has been shown earlier, there were many parts of the old beliefs and Christianity that were similar. Papuans adopted some their old beliefs to their new religion, others started to believe that Christianity was based on Papuan myths. Unsurprisingly, this meant that Christian beliefs also went on to play a part in the movements.

Christian Elements in the Movements

Papuan administrator Arnold Mampioper told the story of how during a movement in the 1940s, when visiting the people of the area he would always tell them that they would obtain wealth and a better life by working diligently, obeying the government and the gospel through the church.[90] He echoed this idea in another book, writing that the best way to deal with a newly emerged movement was to understand its purpose and then guide its participants to a more reasonable understanding through the bible. Yet, as he himself pointed out, it was possible that their beliefs were in conflict with the gospel message.[91]

In his later work, F.C. Kamma asserted that the conversion to Christianity and the message of the gospel, which had similarities to *koreri*, might have made the coming of the salvation seem even closer. This was aided by the belief of many, that Jesus was the same person as Manggundi, that the gospel was actually *koreri*. When writing about his encounter with an "extremely nervous type" who had gotten visions and started a movement, Kamma stated that he had simply confused the figures of Manggundi and Christ.[92] Furthermore, Kamma interpreted the increased inquiry for mission representatives and teachers in villages as less of a sign that the people were responding to the message of the gospel and more that they now equated their *koreri*-expectations with Christian

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[88] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 6.

[89] Ibid., xv.

[90] Arnold Mampioper, "They falsified my name," in *Governing New Guinea. An oral history of Papuan administrators, 1950-1990*, ed. Leontine Visser (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012), 85-86.

[91] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 102.

[92] Kamma, *Koreri*, 152.

elements, such as missionaries and teachers. This he also saw as the reason why there were less movements in many areas, as the people now sought *koreri* in the teachings of Christianity.[93] However later there were also converted Christians that participated in movements, showing that their faith in Christianity was mainly a method of bringing closer the salvation, but that they were still open to other options.[94] Whether consciously or unconsciously, *koreri* still influenced their ideas and their appraisement of the gospel. Kamma summed up the situation, writing: „For one group the Gospel represented an extension of the native tradition, with names borrowed from the Holy Scriptures, other quoted the Bible to prove that what it contained was essentially the same as *Koreri*."[95]

An interesting example of a movement in Western New Guinea is the Simson Movement. Simson, a man who had been converted to Christianity, attended church regularly and did not stand out in any way, ended up having a great influence in the area east of the Mamberamo River during the years 1940-1944. He befriended a colonist who taught him about spiritualist beliefs, which led to Simson believing that he was now able to communicate with his dead ancestors. He went on to inform the other villagers of his new beliefs, that he had found true Christianity, using specific mentions of deceased in the bible to play up ancestor worship. Over time more and more people, Christians included, started following Simsons teachings and church officials had a hard time disproving his claims, as he was basing them on real bible verses. Many of the officials were forced to leave their villages. The ancestors, according to Simson, were also in favour of taking multiple wives, a tradition that the missionaries had tried their best to end. Sometime in 1942, Simson announced that he had been commissioned by a mythological figure to free himself and all his followers of foreign domination. However, his plans became known to the Japanese, he was arrested and most likely decapitated. Almost ten years after, the church in the region had not yet fully recovered from the events of the Simson Movement.[96]

Such movements, while usually not successful in their goals, continued to be remembered by the Papuan people, as it showed their struggle for what they believed in and became a foundation for

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[93] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke werk*, 661, 664-665.

[94] Kamma, "Religieuze Voorstellingen," 29-30.

[95] Kamma, *Koreri*, 228.

[96] H. Spreeuwenberg, "De Simson-beweging," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 155 ff.

the resistance against foreign control.[97] Some of the already more educated people of the Papuan population also saw the movements as an opportunity:

> Nationalistic aspirations commenced to become a part of the movements when more educated people started to use the *Koreri* expectations for the purpose of finding acceptance, via a mythical interpretation, for their rational ideas. In principle, the *Koreri* ideal does not allow this association, but in practice opposition to the foreigners had already found a place on the list of expectations connected with *Koreri*.[98]

2.2.1 The Great *Koreri* Movement

One of the best known *koreri* movements took place in the Geelvink Bay area from 1938 to 1943, known as the Great *Koreri* Movement. It is particularly known for its nationalist overtones, the use of the Morning Star[99] on its flag and the proclamation of a Papuan Kingdom.[100] According to Richard Chauvel it "expressed aspirations of leading a Papua-wide liberation."[101] Others, such as Nonie Sharp, Peter Savage and Bilveer Singh, have also argued that such movements were an important part of the struggle for Papuan independence and nationalism.[102]

The *konoor* of this movement was a woman called Angganitha Menufaur. She had caught a disease which had affected her skin and paralysed her, leading to her being exiled to an island. There a stranger arrived and told her that there would come a war and that she would usher in the *koreri*, without bloodshed. Afterwards she was able to walk again and returned to her village. The message of her miraculous recovery spread quickly in the area. Angganitha began to cure the sick and she was worshiped by the people. She was taken in by the authorities on multiple occasions, but the movement continued to grow, even declaring Angganitha to be queen of all of New Guinea, but also sometimes developing into violent altercations with the authorities. In the end, Angganitha and other leaders were beheaded by the Japanese, who did not want the movement to continue spreading

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[97] Bilveer Singh, *Papua. Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2008), 73.

[98] Kamma, *Koreri*, 280.

[99] While the Morning Star is an important symbol both of the Great *Koreri* Movement and of Papuan nationalism, it will be discussed in more detail later to specifically highlight its political importance.

[100] Veur, "Political Awakening," 56.

[101] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 37.

[102] Sharp, *The Rule of the Sword*, 11; Savage, "The Nationalist Struggle in West Irian," 142; Singh, *Papua. Geopolitics and the Quest for Nationhood*, 73.

as it had already amassed many followers.[103] Nevertheless, it had made an impact on the Geelvink Bay area, especially on Biak and Serui, and through later nationalist leaders from the area, went on to have an influence on all of Western New Guinea.[104]

The Influence of Christianity on the Movement

Markus Kaisiepo said about the movements *konoor*, Angganitha:

> The person is like a priest who got the holy message from heaven, from Manseren Nanggi and gave it to the local people. This person is somebody like Angganitha because she is a holy person. She got the message from Manseren Nanggi and gave it to the local people. All these people saw her as a holy person because she was paralysed and through a miracle she could walk again. She made Koreri [the Koreri movement] and she was like a priest.[105]

Kaisiepo himself saw Angganitha when she was paralysed and again after she had been cured. He additionally mentioned that she always stated that her followers should not use violence, and compared her to Jesus who had also told this to his followers. The Dutch in Western New Guinea however did try to stop the movement by using violence to imprison Angganitha, and therefore had betrayed their own religious beliefs, which they had been trying to spread all over the world.[106] So in reality, according to Kaisiepo, "Christianity was only a tool used to introduce people to Christianity and teach other people and at the same time manipulate them and steal from them the resources of their countries."[107]

"During the great movement of 1938-43, however, it was to become clear that the people had in fact formed a specific conception of the connection between the *Koreri* and the Bible," F.C. Kamma wrote.[108] At some of the meetings of followers of the movement, there were fights between fully converted Christians and the *koreri* followers, with the latter trying to convince the former that *koreri* and the gospel were not incompatible. When this did not succeed, they said that they had been deceived by the missionaries, that they had removed a page from the bible that stated that

[103] Kamma, *Koreri*, 157 ff; Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 52 ff.

[104] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism,* 37.

[105] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 49.

[106] Ibid., 100 ff.

[107] Ibid., 105.

[108] Kamma, *Koreri*, 142.

Manggundi was Jesus. Some started to call Angganitha "Mary" and the island to which she had been exiled "Bethlehem."[109]

Others believed that Jesus had come from a *bitanggor* fruit that was thrown by Manseren Manggundi. Arnold Mampioper stated that these types of interpretations made by the followers of the *koreri* movement, with the bible as the axis of comparison, had a considerable influence on the population which had already been converted to Christianity.[110] It could also be argued that the Christian elements in the movement possibly contributed to its wide reach, because these elements were familiar to many people. One of the demands made by the movements leaders was even that religious worship should not be hindered and that the church should be preserved.[111]

The Influence of the Movement on Nationalism

David Webster has argued that "Papuan identity formation can be said to have started with the Pacific War." The wartime context led to a revival of messianic movements, one of which was the Great K*oreri* Movement, which "quickly showed an avowedly political face."[112] J.V. de Bruijn, a district officer in the Biak area and Hollandia, in 1951 called the Great *Koreri* Movement "a form of religious nationalism."[113] It is important to note that while the movement did start under Dutch rule, it reached its apex, the proclamation of independence, under the Japanese, who had tried hard to suppress it.[114] There were distinctly nationalistic elements in this movement, in particular the idea of uniting all of New Guinea under Angganitha as its queen. All tribes would be one, local wars would be put to rest, all the people of New Guinea were to make peace with each other, and Angganitha would be recognised as the queen of the whole of New Guinea.[115]

Some followers of the movement, who were not in direct contact with Angganitha tried to use the movement as a way of instilling a sense of unity into the people against the Japanese, whose

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[109] Kamma, *Koreri*, 161.

[110] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 56.

[111] Ibid., 62.

[112] Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 510-511.

[113] Quoted in: Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 52.

[114] Savage, "The Nationalist Struggle in West Irian," 142.

[115] Kamma, *Koreri*, 173.

brutal treatment of the people had caused much resentment among the population.[116] However, it is important to point out that the majority of the movements followers did not participate for overtly nationalist ideas. Rather, "their motives were still wholly confined within their traditional, mythically bounded perimeters."[117] There were those who tried to use the movement as a way of instilling a strong sense of unity and of resistance in the people, with the aim of liberating New Guinea with the help of the Allied Forces.[118] In the report of the Indonesian Commission on Western New Guinea from 1950, which had the clear goal of trying to legitimise the Indonesian claim to the territory, the movement was described as a freedom movement, which had not only the purpose of liberating the Papuans from the Japanese but also to form a united country together with Indonesia, a blissful state free from Dutch rule. This new unity and state would coincide with the coming of the Messiah.[119]

What is certainly clear when looking at the movement is that *koreri* expectations and beliefs acted as a unifying force for the participants. Many of the later Papuan nationalists drew from the experiences of the movement, seeing it as an expression of the desire for Papuan liberation. Important Papuan nationalists such as Markus Kaisiepo highlighted the importance of *koreri*, calling himself a "Koreri man" and describing *koreri* as a cultural identity. Nonetheless it is also important to point out that the movement was active primarily in the Biak-Numfor area, so for the most part people from that area, such as Kaisiepo, were much more likely to identify with it and its ideas.[120]

Kaisiepo himself said that when the Dutch missions returned after the war, they still refused to recognise *koreri* and the struggle for Papuan independence that had taken place. This was one of the reasons why, even though he did not deny the existence of God and of Jesus, who he believed already belonged to the Papuans anyways, he did deny the church:

> We believe in God, but we do not believe in the Church because it is only dealing in manipulating people and turning the facts upside down. Christian people build arms factories so there are arms to kill people, to take over our land and our rights so we are reduced to poverty. [121]

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[116] Kamma, *Koreri*, 185.

[117] Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle*, 130.

[118] Kamma, *Koreri*, 185. Kamma also mentioned that they tried to involve the church, but he did not go into detail of what kind of involvement this was/would have been.

[119] Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea*, 66.

[120] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 7-8, xv; Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 37 ff.

[121] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 91 ff.

The movement and the missionaries reaction to it certainly reinforced the idea of some Papuans, that the missionaries were deceiving them and did not have their best interests at heart.

Similarities between old Papuan beliefs and Christianity led to some Papuans adapting parts of their old beliefs into their new religion. Others started to believe that Christianity was in fact based on Papuan beliefs and that the missionaries were trying to hide this. Because of the increasing presence of Christianity, messianic movements started to include Christian elements and some of these movements started to be of a more nationalist nature and importance, particularly the Great *Koreri* Movement.

Not only did conversion lead to a strong Christian presence in such movements, but the attempts of missionaries to get rid of the old beliefs and movements completely also contributed to some Papuans more strongly opposing of them and their work. However, conversion was not the only way in which missionaries influenced the Papuans lives.

3. Education and Missionary Agency

The work of a missionary in Western New Guinea did not only include trying to convert the indigenous population to Christianity. They were also heavily involved in areas such as education and health services. Through their work they were involved in and had considerable influence on important events and steps taken towards an independent Western New Guinea and a more direct involvement of the Papuan people in important decisions concerning their homeland.

The first part of this chapter looks at the education work of the missionaries, mostly before 1945, and the second part focuses on the time after and the specific actions taken by missionaries towards possible Papuan independence.

3.1 The Role of the Missionaries in Education

Before the Second World War education for the majority of the indigenous people in Western New Guinea was only provided by the Protestant and Catholic missions. While the Dutch administration started to get more involved after 1945, the largest part of education in Western New Guinea stayed under the missions until Indonesia took over in 1963. For the missions this was not only a helpful tool for conversion, but also for teaching the younger Papuans about European and Christian values and knowledge, therefore exerting a longer-term influence over them and aiding with cross-cultural contact and relationships. Colonial governments were often not interested in investing a lot of resources into the education of the indigenous population. In Western New Guinea, the colonial administration did support the schools established by missionaries monetarily.[122] One Papuan administrator described the difference between the missionaries and the colonial government, saying that the government "was tough to work with" and "looking for people and forcing them to work." The missionaries on the other hand "gathered people and nurtured them" and they "could serve local communities because they guided them through religion […]."[123]

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[122] Joel Boray, "*Koteka* are better than pants," in *Governing New Guinea. An oral history of Papuan administrators, 1950-1990*, ed. Leontine Visser (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012), 167; Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia*, 10; Maaike Derksen, "Educating Children, Civilizing Society: Missionary Schools and Non-European Teachers in South Dutch New Guinea, 1902-1942," *IRSH* 65, (2020): 46-47, 54.

[123] Gerrit Jan Iauri, "The three-month war in Panai," in *Governing New Guinea. An oral history of Papuan administrators, 1950-1990*, ed. Leontine Visser (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012), 115-116.

According to missionary F.C. Kamma, the mission would only settle in a place where it had been invited to do so by the local population. The missionary would establish contact with the people, but they would have to take the initiative to ask for a mission post or a teacher. School buildings were usually built by the people themselves, under the guidance of the teacher that had been sent by the missionaries. This was a part of showing that the people were serious about their request. A teacher would usually act as the head of the local congregation and would continue to try to convert people. Furthermore, Kamma wrote that because of these important roles occupied by the teacher, his influence in the village would increase, while the influence of the older men of the village would diminish. As Kamma puts it, the coming of a teacher meant "the beginning of a slow disintegration of the norms which primarily rested on the authority of the ancestors and on religious conviction."[124] The Papuan people, who often lived scattered over large areas, started to move closer together, forming communities around the school and the house of the missionary. This was however often also due to orders from the local government for the people to move closer together to make administration easier. Nonetheless, living in these new communities not only brought the people closer to the school and the church, but it also brought the people closer to each other.[125] Re-centring the lives of the Papuans in such a way had a great influence on social structures. It also improved communication between different congregations, something that even among clans had been limited before.[126]

The *guru* (as the mission teachers were usually called) was supposed to familiarise himself with the local customs, language and culture. The education he was to provide to the Papuan children included singing and music, the building of school gardens, telling children's stories (including indigenous legends), sports, and teaching hygiene and order. According to the missionary N. van der Stoep, there was not to be more than three hours per week devoted to the teaching of religion. The *guru* was also meant to make contact with all the people, not just his young students. Even though he had to learn about the culture, the *guru* also had to try to discourage rituals or customs that would disturb the new order, such as dances that lasted days on end. The preferable way for the *guru* to achieve this was through converting the people to Christianity.[127]

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[124] Kamma, *Koreri*, 225-226.

[125] Tanamal, *De roepstem volgend*, 23; I.S. Kijne, "De ontwikkeling van het onderwijs," *Schakels N.N.G.* 50, (1962): 38.

[126] Robin, "Missionaries in contemporary Melanesia," 269-270.

[127] N. van der Stoep, "In dienst van het zendingsonderwijs," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 237-238.

Richard Chauvel has argued that education institutions in Western New Guinea were an important part of the rising national awareness among Papuans, expanding their ideas from local to national, from tribal to Papuan. Many different parts of the education system in Western New Guinea contributed to this new found Papuan nationalism. Chauvel, however, mainly focuses on the parts that were developed after the end of the Second World War by the new Resident J.P.K. van Eechoud and the Dutch colonial administration in general. The Papuans who graduated the newly established secondary schools in the late 1930s and early 1940s were the "first Papuans" and the first generation of Papuan nationalists. They were the first to think of themselves as members of a broader pan-Papuan society, rather than as a member of a specific ethno-linguistic group, and often also as a society specifically separate from Indonesia. In general those parts of Western New Guinea that had had the longest contact with missionaries and the Dutch colonial administration were the most represented in the secondary schools.[128]

I agree with the ideas presented by Chauvel that education institutions were important for the development of Papuan nationalism, and further argue that this was also in large part due to the education provided by the missionaries, in particular before the Dutch administration became more involved. Here, two important parts of the education system are examined: the problem of language in Western New Guinea and the problem with the Indonesian *amberi* teachers employed by the Christian missions.

3.1.1 Language

While it is usually not the only or most important contributing factor, language can play an integral part in the forming of a national consciousness.[129] The island of New Guinea has an enormous linguistic diversity, owing in part to the rough terrain which has led to scattered settlements with very little contact, with some languages being spoken by only a few hundred people. Out of the more than 250 different languages, some can be categorised as "Papuan," others as coming from the same large Austronesian language family as Malay.[130]

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[128] Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 40 ff.; Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 55-56.

[129] A.D. Smith, "When is a Nation," *Geopolitics* 7, no. 2 (2020): 20.

[130] Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea*, 18-19; Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 346.

One of the tasks of the missionaries was to learn the local languages and translate the bible, making Christianity more accessible, in order to convert the indigenous population.[131] However, they also tried to establish a common language. In Indonesia, it was decided by the Dutch that Malay would be the best option. Malay was considered easier to learn than Dutch or any of the major languages spoken in the area. In 1954 it was decided by the Dutch parliament that in Western New Guinea the main language was to be Dutch.[132] Before this Malay had mostly been used when communicating across ethno-linguistic borders. Through its use by the administration and missionaries — both in church and school — it quickly became the *lingua franca* of the territory. Markus Kaisiepo, for instance, was not able to speak Dutch when he met the Queen Mother in 1960. When asked why he responded that, "in 1929 I wrote to you asking whether we could learn Dutch. You refused us then and that is why I do not speak Dutch today."[133]

Most missionary schools taught in Malay. Nonetheless, often times local languages would still be used for education as well as proselytising. Malay was used in school books, which mostly came from Java, but missionary teachers also sometimes translated the books into the local language to further encourage the study of reading. In later years, members of the Evangelical Christian Church in Western New Guinea primarily used Malay as the language of association and worship. In areas with larger language groups such as the Biak-Numfor area the local language was also used, but no local language was able to go beyond its region. Malay was also used in the business and government sector and even the first Papuan political parties were given Malay names.

Choosing the main language of Western New Guinea proved especially difficult because to choose Malay could seem like the recognition of Indonesia's claim to the territory, whereas choosing Dutch could seem like an approval of further colonial rule.[134] In Peter van der Veur's survey of Papuan students in 1962, the amount of students preferring Dutch or Malay was fairly even, although those training to become Protestant teachers or evangelists clearly preferred Malay.[135] Since Malay was the language primarily used in education in Western New Guinea, it became the main language for the educated Papuans and thus the language of Papuan nationalism,

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[131] Whitehouse, "From Mission to Movement," 52; Jeff Kingston, *The Politics of Religion, Nationalism and Identity in Asia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019), 44.

[132] Adrian Vickers, *A History of Modern Indonesia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 62; Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics," 51.

[133] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 67; Veur, "Political Awakening," 56.

[134] Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I.*, 28, 76; Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics," 51-52.

[135] Veur, "Questionnaire Survey," 434.

just as it had been for Indonesian nationalism.[136] Since the missionaries and the mission teachers acted as the principal educators in Western New Guinea, by mainly using Malay for teaching as well as proselytising, they thus greatly influenced the spread of this "national" language in the territory, with which all educated Papuans could communicate.

3.1.2 The *Amberi*

Adding to the reasons why education in Western New Guinea was for a large part conducted in Malay was the fact that many of the teachers were from the part of the Dutch East Indies that would become Indonesia. According to Nicolaas Jouwe, the Papuans did not see themselves as being from the same Malay tribe as the Indonesians, but rather from the Melanesian ethnic group. Jouwe felt that, when the so-called *amberi* (meaning "foreigner")[137] arrived, they were placed in a second class after the Dutch, while the Papuans stayed in the lowest class.[138] This has been called a system of "dual colonialism."

In Western New Guinea there were more Indonesian officials than Dutch, leading to more resentment towards the Indonesians by the Papuans. It would often be an *amberi* living in a village who would report activities such as *koreri* movements to the Dutch authorities, leading to their intervention. And while this Indonesian presence in the territory might have contributed to the Indonesian nationalist sense that Western New Guinea was part of Indonesia, for most Papuans it did not have the same effect.[139] As Richard Chauvel has put it, "in the discourse of Papuan nationalism, it is the distinction from the Indonesians that is most important, and it is a distinction rooted in the experience of colonial domination."[140]

The *amberi* often worked as so-called *gurus*, preaching the gospel as well as acting as teachers in the villages. While most Dutch missionaries would only have the time to come visit a few times a year, the *gurus* lived in the villages together with the Papuans, establishing schools and

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[136] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 54-55.

[137] The term *amberi* was mostly used in the north of Western New Guinea where the Protestant mission was predominantly active. The *amberi* who came to the area were mostly from Ambon (central Maluku). See: Derksen, "Local Intermediaries?," 113-114.

[138] Jouwe, *Kembali ke Indonesia*, 22.

[139] Tanamal, *De roepstem volgend*, 16-18; Derksen, "Local Intermediaries?," 113; Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 43.

[140] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 45.

congregations.[141] The *gurus* received training by the missionaries, often accompanying them on their trips throughout the territory. They were not just educated on preaching the gospel, but also on things such as school, community affairs and medical treatments.[142] However, in general their education period was rather limited and many *amberi gurus* were known for their aggressiveness in trying to convert and educate the indigenous population, and for thinking of themselves as better than the Papuans. They frequently called the Papuans stupid and showed very little compassion in their quest to convert the indigenous population and get rid of anything pagan. Nonetheless, the missionaries saw the *amberi* as essential to the mission work.[143] The presence of the *amberi* was important for the Dutch colonial government as well as the missions, because otherwise they would have had a shortage of personnel. The missionaries also felt that the *amberi* were culturally closer to the Papuans and therefore were more suitable for the work required.[144]

During the Great *Koreri* Movement a lot of anger was directed towards the *amberi*. Leaders of the movement were hoping that the arrival of the Japanese, in the wake of the Pacific War in the early 1940s, would lead to the ousting of the *amberi* and more control for the Papuans. However, many *amberi* cooperated with the Japanese, which only strengthened the Papuans mistrust of them. In the demands of the movement it was made clear that all *amberi* who did not participate in or who insulted the movement would be subject to punitive actions. Those who did participate would be allowed to remain, but the overall intention was for Papuans to take over the positions held by the *amberi*.[145]

After the Pacific War the Dutch had a hard time trying to rebuild the mission work in Western New Guinea. This was partly due to many Papuans, especially in the area where the Great *Koreri* Movement had been the most prevalent, no longer accepting *amberi* as their teachers and leaders of their congregations, because of their conduct before and during the Japanese occupation.[146] While the Dutch had first been skeptical of educating Papuans to become *gurus*, in the end they did allow

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[141] T. Hogerwaard, "Het aandeel van de Amberi-Goeroes," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 258-259; Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 571-572; Derksen, "Local Intermediaries?," 120-121.

[142] Tanamal, *De roepstem volgend*, 8.

[143] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 722, 750-51; Johan Ariks, Nicolaas Jouwe, Markus Kaisiepo and A. Arfan, *De Papoea's roepen Nederland: een dringend beroep van de Papoea-delegatie* (Den Helder: C. de Boer Jr., 1951), 2; Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 44.

[144] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 570; Derksen, "Local Intermediaries?," 120-121.

[145] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 58-59, 61-62; Pouwer, "The Colonisation, Decolonisation and Recolonisation," 166.

[146] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 745.

it and more and more Papuans began their training.[147] Yet in some areas Papuan *gurus* often had a problem establishing themselves. Some Papuans argued that they could accept the *amberi* disciplining their children but that they could not do the same with someone who had the same skin colour and curly hair as them.[148] This was possibly due to them having already internalised the idea presented by Jouwe, that the Papuans were in a lower class than the *amberi.* It could also be a sign of a growing awareness of a, at least racial, Papuan identity.

Papuan *gurus* also sometimes faced the problem of being involved in local disputes which were often based in tribal conflicts, something that *amberi* did not have to worry about. However, while there were threats being made against Papuan *gurus* because of their conduct, these were usually not carried out, whereas threats against *amberi* were more likely to be carried out, leading to a number of deaths.[149]

Richard Chauvel has argued that the system of dual colonial structure was an important factor in the emergence of political awareness among Papuans.[150] One Papuan government official said about his experience with the *amberi*: "I would explode with anger when I saw Papuans receiving treatment that was unfit for human beings. […] As a Papuan, I could just not accept such treatment."[151] The presence of the *amberi* in Western New Guinea and the way in which they treated the indigenous population, enforced for many Papuans the idea that they were their own group of people, different from the *amberi.*[152]

3.2 Efforts towards (more) Independence

Through their work as educators and as bringers of the Christian faith, the Dutch missionaries and the mission personnel also were a part of and influenced important actions taken towards a more independent Papuan people.

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[147] D.A. ten Haaft, "Onderwijs en opleiding," in *Kruis en Korwar. Een honderdjarig waagstuk op Nieuw Guinea*, ed. F.C. Kamma (Den Haag: J.N. Voorhoeve, 1953), 224; Derksen, "Educating Children, Civilizing Society," 62-63.

[148] Hogerwaard, "Het aandeel van de Amberi-Goeroes," 260.

[149] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 754-55.

[150] Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 43.

[151] Trajanus S. Boekorsjom, "Do not insult Papuans in front of me," in *Governing New Guinea. An oral history of Papuan administrators, 1950-1990*, ed. Leontine Visser (Leiden: KITVL Press, 2012), 21.

[152] Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 43.

Until the 1940s, the Dutch had done very little do develop Western New Guinea and its people. Education and most other development that had been achieved was for the most part due to the mission work. The number of schools in the territory had started to significantly increase since the 1920s.[153] But the Second World War and the time after brought many changes to the region and its people. The Japanese occupation of the northern part of Western New Guinea led to many missionaries and *amberi* having to leave or being detained in camps and most religious education being banned. The uncertain political situation, as well as the lack of food and other supplies, led to movements and a general uneasiness in the indigenous population. Tribal wars and killings, as well as the destruction of schools and churches were the result.[154]

The arrival of American troops in 1944 also had a big impact on the Papuans, especially seeing the African American soldiers fighting alongside with and seemingly being treated as equals by the white soldiers. David Webster has argued that this experience for many was the starting point of Papuan identity formation.[155] The Americans also brought an abundance of food and other supplies. All this led some Papuans to propose that the American government might take over control over Western New Guinea after the war, hoping that this would lead to them receiving a modern education and in general a better quality of life. This request of course was not fulfilled and the Dutch took over control again. Yet, the war and its consequences, most importantly the independence of Indonesia, had made the Dutch administration reconsider its strategy in Western New Guinea. They changed their attitude and actions towards the Papuans, whose development they had previously mostly left in the hands of the missions.[156]

Education was an important part of the Dutch development program and the Papuans themselves were now asking more than ever to receive education and a *guru* for their villages. The missionary I.S. Kijne argued that this was for one due to the expectation among the Papuans that receiving an education would immediately give them access to high posts within the government, business and the church. While Kijne was critical of the extent to which this would be possible, he did declare that the educational development would of course focus on the involvement of Papuans in all branches of service at the government and the church.[157] Although the mission continued to see it as

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[153] Kamma, *Koreri*, 10; Sawor, *Ik bèn een Papoea*, 11.

[154] Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I.*, 23-24; Slump, "West Nieuw-Guinea na de oorlog," 111.

[155] Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 510.

[156] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 97-98; Kluge, "West Papua and the International History of Decolonization," 1162-1163.

[157] Kijne, "De ontwikkeling van het onderwijs," 37, 41; Kamma, "Het viervorstendom en de Noord-West Vogelkop," 128.

its task to promote the development of the territory and its people, the increased attention of the Dutch government on Western New Guinea also meant that the mission lost its position as the most significant player in this development.[158] Nonetheless, the missionaries had been the ones who had laid the groundwork for the government's plans and they stayed the most important provider of education in the territory, which had a great influence on many social and political developments.

3.2.1 Educating an Elite

The report of the Indonesian Commission on Western New Guinea from 1950, which was made to help determine the question of sovereignty over the territory, criticised the work of the Dutch government and the missions in the development of the indigenous population. It argued that while schools were filled with students and church was well attended (at least in the coastal areas) there had been little social or economic development, therefore the knowledge acquired was of little use to the people. The governor Van Eechoud was quoted in the report admitting that even though Papuans had been taught basics such as reading, writing and calculating, they had so far not been allowed to apply these skills. The Indonesian report suggested that it was not the Dutch government's intention to educate the indigenous population in order for them to one day obtain autonomy and complete freedom. Rather, they wanted to form an administration that would continue to act in the interest of the Netherlands first.[159]

Nicolaas Jouwe on the other hand wrote that the Papuan people did not easily surrender to modern influences and that many continued to live by the old traditions. Even if the Netherlands were to put all their resources into their development, the Papuan people would still be slow in developing. Jouwe furthermore pointed out that in order to "develop" the Papuans in the Western way, the Dutch would have to destroy the indigenous cultures and beliefs as quickly and thoroughly as possible. According to Jouwe, this would be more detrimental to the Papuans and a more colonial action than what the Netherlands were doing at that time.[160]

While both the report and Jouwe made valid points, it was mainly after the United Nations had decided in 1950 that Western New Guinea had the right of independence and again in the early

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[158] Stoep, "In dienst van het zendingsonderwijs," 244; Karel A. Steenbrink, *Catholics in Independent Indonesia, 1945-2010* (Boston: Brill, 2015), 323.

[159] Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea*, 82 ff.

[160] Jouwe, *De stem van de Papoea's*, 11-12.

1960s due to pressure from Indonesia, that the Dutch colonial administration really started to educate the Papuan population in order to achieve self-government in the coming decades.[161] A programme was launched after 1952 to provide the Papuans with everything they needed to form an independent state by 1970. Yet overall, even by 1954 only about half the population of Western New Guinea was actually under direct Dutch administration.[162] Because of this lack of government presence in many parts and the still relatively small education system, only a limited part of the population received higher education and support from both the missions and the colonial administration, and went on the be intimately involved in politics and the question of independence for their homeland.

The establishment of such a "Papuan elite" became a major objective of the Dutch administration. This elite was to hopefully develop into the basis of a future self-government. The future members of this elite were primarily educated in the mission schools and by the end of the 1940s could be found working as teachers in village schools, in lower government posts, as police, nurses and in other areas. By the early 1960s there were only a few hundred "prominent Papuans," some of whom included important figures in the fight for Papuan self-determination, such as Nicolaas Jouwe, Markus Kaisiepo, E.J. Bonay and more.[163] This new elite was much more aware of the political events concerning their homeland. One educated Papuan said: "I don't think the Indonesians realize or recognize the position of West New Guinea Papuans — we are not the same people we were fifteen years ago. We know what future we want now. We want independence."[164] David Webster has argued that while this elite might have only consisted of a small part of the overall population of Western New Guinea, they could still be representative of a large part of it, because they had not "lost touch" with their local traditions and culture.[165] Mostly members of this elite, Papuans that had been educated in the mission schools and had then gone on to work as *gurus* or in civil service, were the ones who were elected to the New Guinea Council in 1961, the first

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[161] Jouwe, *Kembali ke Indonesia*, 60-61; Kluge, "West Papua and the International History of Decolonization," 1157-1158.

[162] Sharp, *The Rule of the Sword*, 13.

[163] Broek & Szalay, "Raising the Morning Star," 77; Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 40-41.

[164] Quoted in: Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 515.

[165] Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 515.

"proto-parliament" in Western New Guinea. Another member of this council was the missionary F.C. Kamma.[166]

Paul van der Veur, in his survey of Papuan students in 1962, found that the majority of them saw the occupation as a member of the New Guinea Council as carrying high prestige, and by far more than any other occupation listed.[167] According to I.S. Kijne, the members of the New Guinea Council had one very important thing to do: to make a clear statement on how and by whom Western New Guinea should be managed until an independent Papuan government could take over, and then to place the lines along which this future government would be prepared.[168] On October 19, 1961, the members of the council released a manifesto, declaring that "in pursuance of Article 73a and b of the Charter of the United Nations" and "by virtue of the inviolable right we, inhabitants of the western part of Papua, have to our native country." The Papuan flag was to be hoisted beside the Dutch flag and the Papuan national anthem[169] to be sung in addition to the Dutch national anthem. The country was to be called Papua Barat and the people Papuan. They demanded that their position should be equal to that of the free nations and ended by saying that the manifesto should be upheld by all Papuans as it was "the sole basis for the freedom of the Papuan people."[170]

Interestingly, the flag chosen to represent the Papuan nation and its people had the Morning Star symbol in its centre, the symbol of *koreri*, and part of the Manseren myth. Back in 1942, during the Great *Koreri* Movement, the Morning Star had also been chosen as the centre of the flag of the then declared kingdom of Papua.[171] The Morning Star is also identified with Jesus, whom many Papuans continued to equate to Manseren Manggundi.[172] Evidently, even though the Dutch government and missionaries had succeeded in creating an educated Papuan elite, old beliefs and traditions were still alive and well even in this group.

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[166] Justus M. van der Kroef, "Recent Developments in West New Guinea," *Pacific Affairs* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 1961): 279-280. The New Guinea Council was a central government body, possessing "joint legal legislative powers with the executive, co-responsibility in passing the budget, and the rights of petition, interpellation, initiative and amendment."Elections for the council were held in February 1961, following a simple majority system, with some parts holding direct and others indirect elections. (Veur, "Political Awakening," 63.)

[167] Veur, "Questionnaire Survey," 436, 441.

[168] I.S. Kijne, "Het andere Nieuw-Guinea," *Schakels N.N.G.* 50, (1962): 35-36.

[169] The National Anthem chosen, *Hai Tanahku Papua* (Oh My Land Papua) was actually composed by the Dutch missionary I.S. Kijne. See: Aritonang & Steenbrink, *A History of Christianity in Indonesia*, 360.

[170] "Manifesto First Papuan Peoples' Congress, October 19, 1961," West Papua Information Kit, last visited June 7, 2021, http://wpik.org/Src/WNGC_res00.html.

[171] Mampioper, *Mitologi*, 63; Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 4, 22.

[172] Mawene, "Christ and Theology of Liberation in Papua," 167-168.

3.2.2 Formation of an Independent Church

Going a few years back in time, in Southeast Asia the establishment of independent churches under local leaders often went hand in hand with nationalist movements. In Western New Guinea the reorganisation of the Protestant churches into the independent organisation of the *Gereja Kristen Injili* (GKI) in 1956 was part of the growing political consciousness of the Papuans during this time.[173] F.C. Kamma wrote in 1953 that in order to truly establish Christianity in Western New Guinea and to make the Papuans recognise Christ as the lord of the emerging church in the area, the focus would increasingly have to shift on the Papuans themselves to lead their own people.[174] I.S. Kijne too wrote in the early 1960s that the development of the church was an important part of the preparation of the Papuan people for democracy.[175]

F.J.S. Rumainum, the first chairman of the GKI, wrote about its inception and tasks. According to him, the GKI took over and continued the task of the Protestant mission.[176] Before the establishment of the GKI the chairman of the Protestant mission made most decisions himself. In the GKI the chairman was supported by a secretary, treasurer and other members. F.C. Kamma, who was elected as secretary, only carried out those decisions that had been made by these members together. Kamma, who had been the chairman of the Protestant mission before, also opened the first General Synod of the GKI in 1956 and announced the members who had been elected by their congregations as delegates to the church. The leaders and members of the congregations, assemblies and synods were elected every three years.[177] Evangelisers appointed by the GKI were not only tasked with preaching the gospel, but also with helping to awaken and promote society in various fields. According to Rumainum, especially in the hinterland areas of Western New Guinea, the work of the evangelisers was of great value.[178]

The GKI represented multiple areas of the territory, various tribes and languages and had the clear support of the Dutch Protestant missions.[179] In his greeting for the first official synod of the GKI, governor Jan van Baal also wrote that the building of the church was an important step

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[173] Goh, *Christianity in Southeast Asia*, 15-16; Veur, "Political Awakening," 61.

[174] Kamma, "Het viervorstendom en de Noord-West Vogelkop," 130.

[175] Kijne, "Het andere Nieuw-Guinea," 35.

[176] Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I.*, 7.

[177] Ibid., 40 ff., 49.

[178] Ibid., 65.

[179] Ibid., 28;

forward in the development of an independent society in New Guinea and signified a new beginning.[180]

I.S. Kijne was an important figure in the establishment of the GKI. He was intimately involved in the determination of the main points of the church order and saw its formation as a step in the right direction. However, he did not think that it should be seen as the ultimate goal, because if the people saw the church with this certainty, but ended up disappointed by it for some reason, this could lead them back to old practices, such as *koreri* movements. Altogether, for Kijne the church was primarily another step for the Papuan people on their journey to fully accept Christianity.[181] According to Kamma, Kijne's hopes were at least partially fulfilled, as the presence of the ministers of the GKI in areas such as Biak, did not leave much room for the development of new *koreri* movements.[182]

Markus Kaisiepo on the other hand did not speak very kindly of the GKI. About the establishment of the church in 1956 he said:

> I was in Hollandia and I just did not recognise it. And I said: "How is it that they proclaim the independence of the Church in West New Guinea before they proclaim that independence for the people of West Irian?" The idea was to set up the Church in Papua Barat led by the mother church in Holland, create a Papuan élite and then run away from the mess they had created. These white Dutch, these thieves and liars, wanted to leave the Church to the Papuans to oppress their own peoples themselves. Yet these Papuan people are not crazy. With their lips they say Gereja Kristen Injili, but in their actual lives they are for Gereja Koreri Irian.[183]

Kaisiepo felt that the GKI was not thinking about the needs of the Papuans, and was just another way of propping up Dutch rule in Western New Guinea and he compared it to Judas Iscariot. Same as the Dutch missionaries before, the GKI was now lying about Jesus Christ, refusing to acknowledge that he was indeed Manseren Manggundi.[184]

Through their extensive involvement in education in Western New Guinea, the Dutch missionaries had an even greater and longer-term influence on the indigenous population. The presence of *gurus* and missionaries changed societal and tribal norms, built new communities and a common language was established. The use of *amberi gurus* contributed to a growing awareness

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[180] Rumainum, *Sepuluh tahun G.K.I.*, 53.

[181] Kamma, *Dit wonderlijke Werk*, 772-773, 779.

[182] Kamma, *Koreri*, 153.

[183] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 98-99.

[184] Ibid., 99, 116.

among Papuans of themselves as a people group different from Indonesians, and the conduct by many of those *amberi* also contributed to a generally bad impression of Indonesians by Papuans. Furthermore, the missionaries were heavily involved in the formation of an educated Papuan elite and in the establishment of an independent Protestant church, all of which greatly impacted the development of Papuan national consciousness and the wish for self-determination.

4. The Impact of Missionary Work

The most common theory on West Papuan nationalism is that it started as resistance against Dutch colonial rule and the Japanese occupation, and fully emerged in the context of the struggle between the Netherlands and Indonesia for control of the territory.[185] With the release of the manifesto of the New Guinea Council in 1961 the Papuans officially for the first time demanded to establish their own nation-state. However, all together they did not have much of a say in the dispute over their homeland. Nonetheless, as Richard Chauvel has pointed out, the dispute "shaped the development of the elite and its political aspirations."[186] Many Papuans asked themselves an important question: Should Western New Guinea become a part of Indonesia, stay under Dutch rule (at least for a while longer) or try to achieve independence as soon as possible?[187]

As the previous two chapters have shown, the Dutch missionaries in Western New Guinea had a great influence on many of the indigenous people, especially when it came to their religious beliefs and education. Their actions guided the people, whether on purpose or inadvertently, closer to a national consciousness and independence. Furthermore, religion itself can be a tool of legitimisation and mobilisation for nationalism, as well as contribute to a collective consciousness among a people.[188] Therefore, this chapter specifically looks at how different Papuans responded to the question of the future of Western New Guinea. and what role the missionaries, their actions and the Christian religion played.

4.1 The Earlier Years

After Indonesia declared independence in 1945 the establishing Papuan elite was divided into two groups. The first group, consisting of people such as Silas Papare and Lukas Rumkorem, were in favour of Western New Guinea becoming part of Indonesia. The second group, including Markus

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[185] Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 509; See also: Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 39-40; Veur, "Political Awakening," 57; Penders, *The West New Guinea Debacle*, 146-147.

[186] Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 39, 47.

[187] These were of course not the only two options available for the future of Western New Guinea. For example, in the 1960s Markus Kaisiepo proposed a "Greater Melanesian Federation" together with Maluku (Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 46). Another idea was a joining of the Western and Eastern halfs of New Guinea. Here however, to keep stay focused on the overarching theme of the thesis, I will only look at the two main players in the Western New Guinea question, the Netherlands and Indonesia.

[188] Liow, *Religion and Nationalism*, 9-10.

Kaisiepo, Johan Ariks and Nicolaas Jouwe, were in favour of a continuing Dutch administration, for the time being.[189]

In 1949 Johan Ariks, a mission educated Papuan schoolteacher,[190] expressed his opinion on the matter. According to him a request had already been made in 1946 to the Queen of the Netherlands to keep Western New Guinea separate from Indonesia. Ariks felt that the Netherlands was the only country that could help the Papuan people and the only country that wanted to help. He wished for Western New Guinea to become an independent territory directly under the Crown, administered by the Dutch and the Papuans together. The Dutch should lead and teach the Papuans and give them the support and guidance they needed. On the Indonesians Ariks said that the Papuans had no point of contact with them, neither geographically, culturally or religiously. There was no reason why Western New Guinea should become part of Indonesia and many why it should not.[191]

The 1950 report of the Indonesian Commission on Western New Guinea, in the writing of which Silas Papare was heavily involved, for obvious reasons portrayed a different mindset. The report argued that the Dutch administration did not act in the interest of the indigenous population.[192] The Indonesian claim to the territory was mainly to destroy the colonial relations, so that the Papuan people could live in a free Indonesia, where the government would make sure of their inclusion into the rest of the country and their continued civilisation.[193] In transcripts attached to the report, Papuans such as Markus Kaisiepo, Johan Ariks and Nicolaas Jouwe were mentioned. They were described as weak, the puppets of the Dutch government, deceiving the rest of the world that continued Dutch rule was in the interest of the Papuans. They were compared to Judas Iscariot, selling out the people of Western New Guinea for their own best interests.[194]

On the topic of religion the report pointed out that there were around 10 000 Muslims living in the territory, that they lived in peace with the other inhabitants and that they would not object to a transfer of sovereignty over to Indonesia.[195] Additionally, the report made clear that the Christian missions in Western New Guinea should not get involved in the political dispute between Indonesia and the Netherlands, but rather adopt a neutral stance. It pointed to the principle of separation

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[189] Savage, “The Nationalist Struggle in West Irian,” 144-145.

[190] Kroef, “Nationalism and Politics,” 45.

[191] *Onze Toekomst*, “Johan Ariks te Batavia.”

[192] Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea*, 11.

[193] Ibid., 46.

[194] Ibid., 162-163, 171.

[195] Ibid., 112-113.

between church and state and repeated statements made by the missions that they would not interfere in the dispute. Furthermore, the report pointed out that the missions were the ones who were involved in educating and civilising the Papuans, underlining the fact that the Dutch government had done very little to develop the territory.[196]

In 1951 Ariks, Jouwe, Arfan and Kaisiepo wrote "De Papoea's roepen Nederland". In it they explained their reasons for supporting a continued Dutch administration. For one, they described that the experiences of the Papuan people with Indonesians had not been pleasant, pointing to the *amberi* teachers and administrators, who humiliated, assaulted and sometimes killed them. The only protection against the *amberi* could be found in Dutch government officials and missionaries. They further argued that Indonesians and Papuans were of two completely different races and that an Indonesian takeover would lead to the destruction of the Papuans' right to self-determination. Moreover, most Indonesians themselves were not yet very well educated, so how could they provide doctors, teachers, engineers and such to the Papuan people?[197]

Markus Kaisiepo was quoted saying that the well-being of the Papuan people could only be guaranteed if the Dutch administration and the missions continued to lead them and guide them from out of the stone age. The authors acknowledged the fact that in the past the interests of the Papuans could have been better served, but argued that this was in large part due to the inaccessibility of the territory and because it was part of a much larger administrative unit.[198] About Christianity they wrote that it was the common faith of many Dutch and Papuans, a bond that in many ways was closer than economic or political ties. Nonetheless, Western New Guinea was not a Christian nation, but a nation where Christianity occupied an important place and that the Dutch government fully recognised the importance of the missionaries work by subsidising their efforts in education and healthcare.[199]

In the following year, 1952, Nicolaas Jouwe released another book on the topic, addressing again why many Papuans were in support of continued Dutch rule. This support was based not on modern

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[196] Papare, *Afwikkeling van het geschilpunt omtrent West-Nieuw Guinea*, 113 ff.

[197] Ariks, Jouwe, Kaisiepo & Arfan, *De Papoea's roepen Nederland*, 2 ff.

[198] Ibid., 5.

[199] Ibid., 5-6.
On the importance of Islam in the question of Indonesia vs. Netherlands: Especially the regions closest to Indonesia had for a long time had close familial and cultural ties with it, and there were many Muslims in those regions. (Chauvel, *Constructing Papuan Nationalism*, 56.) But this was only a small part of Western New Guinea and most other parts primarily had had contact with the *amberi*, who were Christians. In the works used here by Jouwe, Kaisiepo, etc., Islam does not appear as an important factor to them. Kaisiepo does at one point say "the Muslims of Indonesia," which could indicate that he did see it as an important distinction, Papuans being Christian and Indonesians Muslim. (Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 101.)

politics, but on one simple thing: trust. They trusted the Dutch to help them, to not neglect their obligation towards the country and its people and to bring them forward until one day they could be on the same level as the Western nations. Moreover, the Papuans trusted the Dutch to lead them to God and to help those who had not yet been converted let go of old traditions and idols.[200] Jouwe expressed fear that if Western New Guinea became part of Indonesia the government would not take into account Papuan national desires and feeling. He referenced President Sukarno saying a year earlier that if the entire Indonesian people would want to become communist, he would certainly become communist. Jouwe asked about this, if the Papuans, a majority of whom were Christians, would have to become communists as well because the Indonesians did.[201]

According to Jouwe, God had placed the fate of the Papuans in the hands of the Dutch. Furthermore he determined that the Papuans should be educated on the basis of Christianity. This was necessary so that the Papuan people would learn to live in peace with others and to learn the truth, the source of which is God. Jouwe called on the Dutch to give a spiritual upbringing to all Papuans which could form a basis on which the Papuan society would grow. Papuan civilisation should not be material or technical, but rather an inner civilisation, based on Christian ideals of peace and community. Only in this way would the relationship of the Papuan people become an ever-strong bond. A foundation of faith in God would make the Papuans stand strong and inseparable.[202]

4.2 A Turning Point

1956 was a turning point for the relationship between the Dutch missionaries and church and the Papuans, especially those who had been supporters of the Dutch. The *Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk* (NHK) changed its stance on the question of Western New Guinea's future, explaining that the current situation was detrimental to the relationship of the Netherlands and Indonesia, as well as for the Netherlands position in the United Nations.[203] In a "Call for Reflection" the General Synod of the NHK, citing its strong relations with the churches in Indonesia and Western New Guinea, wrote

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[200] Jouwe, *De stem van de Papoea's*, 4-5.

[201] Ibid., 9.

[202] Ibid., 13-14.

[203] Rapport van de Commissie voor Internationale Zaken van de Oecumenische Raad van Kerken in Nederland, N*ieuw Guinea als probleem van het Nederlandse volk* (Amsterdam: W. ten Have N.V., 1956), 21.

about their duty to express concern about the situation. According to them, it was the church's duty to educate its members on such matters and incite them to account for their political opinions before God. It was the responsibility of the Dutch to educate and develop the Papuans and their homeland, but the general attitude towards colonial rule had drastically changed in the past two decades. More and more the Dutch were being criticised by the international community for their presence in Western New Guinea, despite their efforts and perceived duty. The overall conflict was a hinderance to the coexistence of Indonesians and Dutch and to the work of the church.[204]

The Synod declared that they could not simply ignore the question of the legitimacy of the Dutch presence in Western New Guinea. They should ask themselves if they were truly acting free from selfishness. Furthermore, the question was brought up if the Dutch were not isolating the Papuans too much from their neighbour Indonesia and instead making them too dependent on the far away and culturally more foreign Netherlands. Even more importantly, the Synod asked the question of whether the Christian freedom of the Papuans was being served by the (perceived) close relationship between the missionaries and the Dutch administration. Finally, the General Synod expressed that while it was not the church's task to find a solution to the issue, they felt that it was their duty to state that the current uncertain situation could not continue.[205]

Naturally, reports of the statements made by the NHK made their way to Western New Guinea. Reacting to this, the government, the mission and Papuan representatives each gave speeches on the radio in the Biak region in July 1956, explaining their stance of the situation.[206]

The government representative, H. Kroeskamp, acknowledged that the NHK was closely connected to Western New Guinea through its missionary work and that their statements had understandably caused some tension. He went on to point out that the NHK had not given any direct orders or expressed a specific direction, but had rather called for a reflection on the situation. Nonetheless, Kroeskamp also argued that the appeal of the Synod was too one-sided, almost exclusively influenced by its relations with the churches in Indonesia and its missionary task. He expressed disappointment in the fact that the Synod had not consulted beforehand those who lived and worked in Western New Guinea, both of the indigenous and non-indigenous population. He made it clear that the call of the Synod had not changed the position of the political parties in the

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[204] Kroeskamp, *Nieuw Guinea spreekt zich uit*, 23-24.

[205] Ibid., 24-25.

[206] Ibid., 2.

Netherlands and that the government was still committed to leading the Papuan people to self-sufficiency.[207]

The representative speakers for the mission were F.C. Kamma and I.S. Kijne. They repeated the main points made in the "Call for reflection," such as the problem of rising tensions between the Dutch and Indonesian people, the question of selfishness and of the possible repercussions of isolation from Indonesia. The missionaries then pointed out that the way the concerns had been expressed by the NHK might weaken the position of the government towards Indonesia and the world. The Synod had expressed concerns that the political stability in Western New Guinea would be in danger if the Netherlands lost international support for their rule over the territory. Again, the missionaries showed their disagreement, saying that this appeal was not based on God's word, but only a weighing of political possibilities. They were disappointed and surprised by the appeal of the Synod, and saw it more as a possible source of uncertainty and unrest and clearly expressed that the members of the church in Western New Guinea should have been consulted. They also assured that the GKI, which at that point was still being formed, would be entirely independent from the NHK.[208]

The representative speaker for the indigenous population was Markus Kaisiepo. He vehemently rejected the ideas expressed by the NHK. The Papuans had been struggling together with the Dutch government to one day have Western New Guinea gain sovereignty and stand independent and equal with other nations. The statements of the NHK went against this goal. Kaisiepo continued that the majority of the inhabitants of Western New Guinea were "by religion and culture, Christians through the leadership of the Church Synod." They still respected and loved the name of Christ, "but the call from the Synod, which is stated clearly through the Word of God, is not the stand and value of our people and has not respected our wishes."[209] Kaisiepo felt that the Synod should not forget the interests of the original inhabitants, who were still in need of their support and the support of the Netherlands. Furthermore, he said:

> Although the whole world is staggered, not even one nation in this world would just throw away its ideas as a result of listening to the word of God. To give up your hopes is similar to sacrificing yourself on the Cross already made by someone else — you might as well go and hang yourself on the Cross.[210]

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[207] Kroeskamp, *Nieuw Guinea spreekt zich uit*, 5-6.

[208] Ibid.,10 ff.

[209] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 119-120.

[210] Ibid.,120-121.

The Papuans had never accepted the idea created by Indonesians, that Western New Guinea belonged to them, because the Papuans had been the enemies of Indonesia for hundreds of years. And the only reason why Indonesians saw Western New Guinea as part of their country was because both had been part of the former Dutch East Indies. Kaisiepo made clear that the original inhabitants of New Guinea were not Indonesian people and that they were strongly opposed to falling under the sovereignty of Indonesia, because if that happened, "our name and our right as a nation will forever disappear from this earth. We did not believe that the churches in Indonesia would grow prosperously in an Islamic country […]."[211] Kaisiepo ended by again expressing the hope of the Papuans that they would not be disappointed in putting their trust and loyalty to the Netherlands.[212] It is not clear how many Papuans felt the same way as Kaisiepo about the situation, but it stands to reason that he was not alone in his disappointment.

Looking back at the situation of 1956 in the early 1990s, Markus Kaisiepo said that to him the statements made by the NHK stated that Western New Guinea should not be granted independence and would have to become part of Indonesia. He made his opposition to such plans clear to Kamma and Kijne, and as a consequence also opposed the formation of the GKI: "It is not for the Church to be free to colonise me. In this case the form of the [GKI] is like a monkey performing tricks in order to continue the colonial system."[213] Kaisiepo felt that this Christian organisation was not really Christian and that, even though he had been educated by the church to become a teacher and preached the Holy Scripture, after the war it had betrayed him. He also stated that he had been born a Biak man and that he still had "Koreri blood" in his body. In 1949 when Kaisiepo came to the Netherlands for the first time, everyone had agreed that Western New Guinea should be independent from Indonesia, but in 1956 they changed their minds, which greatly disappointed Kaisiepo, and he refused to work again with the missionaries. The church denying the right of independence to the Papuan people strengthened and encouraged him to become more active for *koreri* again[214]: "Therefore I saw I had better throw away Christianity which tells us lies and brighten up my Koreri which tells the truth. Western people should believe in Koreri too because Koreri does not lie. […] This incident with the Church pushed me away from Christianity. I saw that they are [thieves]."[215]

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[211] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 121.

[212] Ibid.,122.

[213] Ibid., 95.

[214] Ibid., 95-96.

[215] Ibid., 96-97.

The "Call for Reflection" by the NHK had managed to alienate the Dutch administration in Western New Guinea, its own missionaries and the indigenous population, many of whom had now lost faith in the church and its support for Papuan independence.

4.3 The Later Years

The early 1960s were a time of great change in Western New Guinea. Pressure from Indonesia grew, while the new Papuan elite also became more vocal about increasing representation, sending petitions across the globe arguing that they deserved independence after the end of Dutch colonial rule. The New Guinea Council was formed in 1961 and there was overall an increasing "Papuanisation" of the administration.[216]

Around the same time, the first political parties were being founded, showing the growing political participation of Papuans. Many party programmes also showcased the importance of religion. The *Partei Nationaal* (PARNA) advocated the expansion of education and increasing the number of Papuans in government. Their party principle was "God's love as the basis of state," which meant that they rejected all kinds of racial discrimination. They did not choose the Dutch or the Indonesian side but rather saw a Papuan nation as the only way forward, although that did not mean that they wanted to immediately get rid of the Dutch.[217] Another party, the *Democratische Volkspartij* (DVP), advocated for a Melanesian federation and favoured peace and religious freedom in the territory.[218] The *Partai Orang Nieuw Guinea* (PONG), whose leader was the teacher Johan Ariks, also asked for Papuan independence in cooperation with the Netherlands and was founded on the principles of Christian charity and "God's love."[219]

In Paul van der Veur's survey of Papuan students in 1962, the question was asked whether they would prefer the continuation of Dutch rule, a transfer of the rule to Indonesia, a possible federation with Eastern New Guinea or independence in the not too distant future. 77.4% favoured a

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[216] Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 513; Kluge, "West Papua and the International History of Decolonization," 1155.

[217] *Nieuw Guinea Koerier*, 11 August 1960; Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics," 39 ff.

[218] *Nieuw Guinea Koerier*, 24 August 1960; Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics," 42-43.

[219] *Nieuw Guinea Koerier*, 23 September 1960; Kroef, "Nationalism and Politics," 44-45.

continuation of Dutch rule and only 0.9% Indonesian rule.[220] Many respondents added about the Dutch rule that it should continue until the Papuans were ready for independence: "We want the Dutch to govern our land until independence and when we are independent the Dutch can go home."[221] Many also made comments that independence should not come too soon and that it was the task of the Dutch to prepare the Papuans for self-government. Furthermore, most of those who did not want Dutch rule also responded negatively to the idea of Indonesian rule. Some stayed neutral, with Veur quoting one respondent who said: "Whoever governs it is all the same to me."[222] When asked about potential obstacles to eventual independence, over 20% answered "economic primitiveness" or the Indonesian claims on Western New Guinea. Others named tribal divisions and the difference between the more developed coastal areas and the still largely untouched interior as possible obstacles.[223] Interestingly, Veur did not ask, or give the option to answer, if religion was an important factor in Papuan independence. Since the students also did not remark on it, it appears that it did not seem an integral part of the question of independence to them.

In the end, however, while the answers of those students are interesting, they did not get to have a say in the future of their homeland after all. In 1962 it was decided that control over Western New Guinea would be transferred to Indonesia the following year. During protests against this in the capital Hollandia some Papuans carried signs that were not just anti-Indonesian, but also indicated that they felt the Dutch had betrayed them. Many Papuan leaders, such as Markus Kaisiepo and Nicolaas Jouwe went to live in exile in the Netherlands from where they continued to fight for the independence of their homeland.[224]

In 1969, the same year as the Act of Free Choice, Papuan activist Zacharias Sawor wrote a book titled *Ik bèn een Papoea*. In it he criticised Indonesia, writing that it had never declared that it recognised the political interests and rights of the Papuans. The Netherlands, on the other hand, had stated that the interests of the Papuans should be more important than Dutch political interests. Sawor continued that an official transfer to Indonesia would mean depriving the people of Western New Guinea of their right to self-govern and their right to national independence.[225] Furthermore,

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[220] It is important to note here that since the survey was conducted by a Dutch man and in schools run by the Dutch, the possibility exists that students were more likely to give pro-Dutch answers. However, since the difference in numbers is quite high, I do not believe that the general outcome can still be taken as a serious representation of Papua sentiments.

[221] Veur, "Questionnaire Survey," 447-449.

[222] Veur, "Questionnaire Survey," 449; Chauvel, "Papuan political imaginings," 50-51.

[223] Veur, "Questionnaire Survey," 450-451.

[224] Kluge, "West Papua and the International History of Decolonization," 1159-1160.

[225] Sawor, *Ik bèn een Papoea*, 18.

Indonesia did not have an official religion and President Sukarno had declared that everyone could worship their god undisturbed, and that there would be mutual respect between Muslims and Christians. One of Sawor's arguments against Indonesian rule was that he did not believe that Indonesia was truly a state with religious freedom. In an authoritarian state (and as such he saw Indonesia) religion would need to serve the interests of the state. If the interests of a religion clashed with the state's interests, there would be no more freedom of religion. Moreover, Sawor pointed out that Indonesia had a government body which strictly supervised religious worship, especially if someone expressed themselves too liberally.[226] According to Sawor, since the Indonesian takeover in 1963 there was no religious freedom anymore in Western New Guinea. Religion had become an affair of the state.[227]

Nicolaas Jouwe in his later life had a change of heart and returned to Indonesia, stating that his goal had always been to create a prosperous Papuan society and that he now felt that the Indonesian government was serious about the welfare and development of the Papuan people. He continued to encourage a dialogue between the Indonesian government and the Papuan community leaders and people in general.[228] Interestingly, while Jouwe and Kaisiepo had many similarities, including both of them being Christians, this did not absolve the fact that they were from different areas of Western New Guinea. According to Jouwe, Kaisiepo was from Biak and that meant that he felt everyone had to listen to him and that he always saw himself as the leader.[229]

Markus Kaisiepo never returned to his homeland. He did not support the Indonesian government, but he had also lost his trust in the missionaries. After moving to the Netherlands in 1962 he refused to speak again to Kamma or Kijne (although he did attend Kamma's funeral), because he felt that they had betrayed him.[230] He noted that "we are not denying the existence of God Almighty, whom we praise, or Jesus who belongs to us already. It is the church we deny. Jesus is ours. Our Jesus existed earlier than the Jesus they brought over here."[231] His belief in God stayed strong but his belief in the church had crumbled. He questioned why, if people today were free to believe whatever they liked, the church was still sending missionaries around the world.[232] As explained

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[226] Sawor, *Ik bèn een Papoea*, 71-72.

[227] Ibid., 112.

[228] Jouwe, *Kembali ke Indonesia*, xvi-xvii.

[229] Farhadian, *Christianity, Islam and Nationalism*, 73.

[230] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 74.

[231] Ibid., 93.

[232] Ibid., 98.

earlier, his disappointment in the church had brought Kaisiepo closer to his *koreri* faith again. For the rest of his life he worked towards bringing *koreri* back into his homeland.[233] In a way, the missionaries and the church inadvertently had helped Kaisiepo strengthen his indigenous beliefs, which he now saw even more as the right faith. Not only had the Christians stolen Jesus from the Papuans, or were at least refusing to acknowledge that Jesus was Papuan, but Christianity was only a tool of white people to colonise others and steal their resources.[234] *Koreri* was a cultural identity, a source of courage to confront those who had betrayed the Papuans and their homeland, and "Koreri exists and is alive as long as West Papuan people are there."[235]

Christianity played an important part in the connection and trust that Papuans had in the Dutch. The mission was seen by many as an integral part of achieving independence for Western New Guinea. The "Call for Reflection" by the NHK changed some peoples minds, who saw this as a betrayal of the trust they had put in the mission to lead them towards self-determination. In later years, religion was used in different ways, including the absence of religious freedom, as an argument against integration into Indonesia. However, the example of people such as Silas Papare and later Nicolaas Jouwe, shows that being Christian did not necessarily mean supporting the Dutch or being against Indonesia. On the other hand, someone like Markus Kaisiepo turned away both from Indonesia and the Dutch missionaries. Yet he did not turn away from Christianity itself, but rather towards what he felt was its true version.

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[233] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 74,

[234] Ibid., 117.

[235] Ibid., xv-xvi.

5. Conclusion

The first raising of the Morning Star flag[236] on 1 December 1961 in Hollandia, alongside the Dutch flag, was an important moment in the history of Papuan nationalism. It signified the beginning of the official process of achieving independence in the next ten years. Some Papuans, to this day, even see it as the official declaration of independence of Western New Guinea.[237] The Morning Star on the flag was a symbol of *koreri* and it had been chosen by Papuan representatives to become the central symbol of their national identity. It had been an important symbol in the Great *Koreri* Movement and thus symbolised to many the resistance against foreign control and a united Western New Guinea.[238]

For many Papuans, conversion was made easier because they saw similarities between their old beliefs and Christianity, and many adopted elements of their old beliefs into their new religion. However, some also went on to believe that Jesus was in fact Manseren Manggundi and that the Dutch missionaries were trying to conceal this fact. Some associated their *koreri* beliefs with Christianity, but the missionaries would not allow such an amalgamation of faiths. Nonetheless, this thesis has shown that the messianic movements, which were often an expression of a desire for change and a hope for self-determination, started to include Christian elements. These elements helped movements have a wider reach and influence, because Christianity was more wide-spread than other local beliefs in Western New Guinea. Already converted Papuans joining also speaks to this, or possibly to the fact that the missionaries had not been entirely successful in fully converting them. Especially the Great *Koreri* Movement went on to be of great significance for Papuan nationalism, and incorporated many Christian elements. This also reinforced the belief of many that the missionaries were lying about the origin of Jesus. That and the fact that the missionaries did not acknowledge the significance of the movement, led to more Papuans loosing their trust in them.

Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that missionary education also had great influence on the Papuans. The presence of *gurus* and schools lead to the formation of new communities and improved communication between different congregations. The education institutions founded by the missionaries played an important part in the forming of a Papuan national identity. The use of

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[236] The Morning Star flag consists of a single white star on a red background (the Morning Star), flanked by seven blue and white horizontal stripes which represent the districts of Western New Guinea. (Broek & Szalay, "Raising the Morning Star," 80.)

[237] Broek & Szalay, "Raising the Morning Star," 80; Webster, "Already Sovereign as a People," 507-508.

[238] Sharp & Kaisiepo, *The Morning Star*, 4, 14.

Malay as *lingua franca* made it the de facto national language, in which all Papuans could communicate. The use of *amberi gurus* and the way these often behaved contributed to a negative perception of Indonesians among the indigenous population, and it made the Papuans more aware of themselves as a different people group, which was separate from both the Dutch and the Indonesians.

The first educated Papuan elite received their education primarily at mission schools and many of them went on to work for the missions as teachers. Later, for example in the New Guinea Council, they worked together with missionaries and the Dutch administration towards independence for Western New Guinea. The missionaries were also instrumental in the establishment of an independent Protestant church in the territory. However, not all Papuans were supportive of this and saw it simply as a new way of continuing Dutch rule, and the continuing refusal to acknowledge and work towards eliminating old beliefs, such as *koreri*.

The Christian faith was a meaningful connection between the Papuans and the Dutch, and many felt that the missions were an important ally in the journey to Papuan independence. Nonetheless, being a Christian Papuan did not automatically mean that one was in support of the Dutch, as the examples of Silas Papare and later Nicolaas Jouwe demonstrate. Especially the missionaries stance on *koreri* beliefs and the decision of the NHK to essentially argue against Papuan self-determination, changed many Papuans minds, including that of Markus Kaisiepo. They felt betrayed by the missionaries, who had spent so many years promising a better life through conversion to Christianity. Yet this did not change the fact that they had been changed in profound ways through their conversion to Christianity, the education they had received and the work they had done together with the missionaries.

The time period examined in this thesis is regarded as an important phase in the development of Papuan nationalism. Yet so far research on the subject has mostly considered the impact of Dutch colonial rule and the conflict between the Netherlands and Indonesia as the primary influences on this development. Those that deal with the factors that contributed to the development of Papuan nationalism have so far not looked at missionaries as important factors. While they were by no means the most important actor or factor in the development of Papuan nationalism, it has been made clear in this thesis that the missionaries and their work did have a considerable influence on it. Their work converting and educating the indigenous population and other actions left their mark on Papuan society. The Morning Star flag, to this day one of the most important symbols of Papuan nationalism, is a great example of this. It represents the combination of old *koreri* and Christian beliefs. It also represents those first Papuans, who made it the national symbol, who had been aided

or motivated by the missionaries actions (both in a positive or more negative way) in their fight for independence for Western New Guinea and its people.

This thesis has shown that Dutch missionaries and the work they did in Western New Guinea were significant for the development of Papuan nationalism and should be paid more attention to in future research. Moving forward, it would be interesting to expand on the topic and findings of this thesis. Only a period of roughly twenty years and a limited amount of sources from a select group of people were examined here. For one, the early period of missionary work in Western New Guinea is yet to be analysed together with the question of nationalism. Even more interesting could be the examination of the influence of missionaries and Christianity in the territory after Indonesia took over. Moreover, the exploration of more sources, especially Papuan, as well as an increased focus on the Indonesian perspective would help to expand the work done in this thesis. The question examined here could also be applied to other (colonised) territories worldwide, which could make for interesting comparisons of different missions and developments of nationalism.

6. Bibliography

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